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Preliminaries
Secession

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Civil War Preliminaries

Secession

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A SINGULAR DREAM OF JOHN C. CALHOUN.

During the exciting scenes in Congress, while the Compromise Measures were pending in 1850, George Lippard wrote the following Singular Dream of Mr. Calhoun, which, during these times of talked-of Secession, some of our members of Congress can read with some profit:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 12, 1850.

Mr. Editor:—The other morning, at the breakfast table, our friend, the Hon. John C. Calhoun, seemed very much troubled and out of spirits. You know that he is altogether a venerable man, with a hard, stern, Scotch-Irish face, softened in its expression around the mouth by a sort of sad smile, which wins the hearts of all who converse with him. His hair is snow-white. He is tall, thin, and angular. He reminds you very much of Old Hickory. That he is honest, no one doubts. He has sacrificed to his fatalism the brightest hopes of political advancement—has offered up on the shrine of that iron Necessity which he worships, all that can excite ambition—even the Presidency of the United States.

But to my story. The other morning, at the breakfast table, where I, an unobserved spectator, happened to be present, Calhoun was observed to gaze frequently at his right hand, and brush it with his left, in a nervous

and hurried manner. He did this so often that it excited attention. At length one of the persons composing the breakfast party—his name I think is Toombs, and he is a member of Congress from Georgia—took upon himself to ask the occasion of Mr. Calhoun's disquietude.

"Does your hand pain you?" he asked.

To this Calhoun replied, in rather a hurried manner—"Pshaw! it is nothing. Only a dream which I had last night, and which makes me see perpetually a large black spot, like an ink blotch, upon the back of my right hand. An optical delusion, I suppose."

Of course these words excited the curiosity of the company, but no one ventured to beg the details of this singular dream, until Toombs asked quietly—"What was your dream like? I am not very superstitious about dreams—but sometimes they have a good deal of truth in them."

"But this was such a peculiarly absurd dream," said Mr. Calhoun, again brushing the back of his right hand; "however, if it does not too much intrude upon the time of our friends, I will relate it."

Of course the company were profuse in their expressions of anxiety to know all about the dream. In his singularly sweet voice, Mr. Calhoun related it:

"At a late hour last night, as I was sitting in my room, engaged in writing, I was astonished at the entrance of a visitor, who entered and, without a word, took a seat opposite me at my table. This surprised me, as I had given particular orders to the servant that I should on no account be disturbed. The manner in which the intruder entered, so perfectly self-possessed, taking his seat opposite me, without a word, as though my room, and all within it, belonged to him, excited in me as much surprise as indignation. As I raised my head to look into his features, over the top of my shaded lamp, I discovered that he was wrapped in a thick cloak, which effectually concealed his face and features from my view. And as I raised my head he spoke.

"What are you writing, Senator from South Carolina?" he said.

"I did not think of his impertinence at first, but answered him involuntarily—

"I am writing a plan for the dissolution of the American Union." (You know, gentlemen, that I am expected to produce a plan of Dissolution in the event of certain contingencies.)

"To this the intruder replied, in the coolest manner possible:

"Senator from South Carolina, will you allow me to look at your hand—your right hand?"

"He rose, the cloak fell, and I beheld his face. Gentlemen, the sight of that face struck me like a thunder-clap. It was the face of a dead man, whom extraordinary events have called back to life. The features were those of George Washington; yes, gentlemen, the intruder was none other than George Washington. He was dressed in the Revolutionary costume, such as you see preserved in Patent Office—"

Here Mr. Calhoun paused, apparently much agitated. His agitation, I need not tell you, was shared by the company. Toombs at length broke the embarrassing pause:

"Well, well, what was the issue of this scene?"

Mr. Calhoun resumed:

"This intruder, I have said, rose and asked to look at my right hand. As though I had not the power to refuse, I extended it. The truth is, I felt a strange chill pervade me at his touch; he grasped it and held it near the light, thus affording me full time to examine every feature of his face. It was the face of Washington. Gentlemen, I shuddered as I beheld the horribly *dead-alive* look of that visage. After holding my hand for a moment, he looked at me steadily, and said in a quiet way:

"And with this right hand, Senator from South Carolina, you would sign your name to a paper declaring the Union dissolved?"

"I answered in the affirmative. 'Yes,' said I; 'if a certain contingency arises, I will sign my name to the Declaration of Dissolution.' But at that moment a black blotch appeared on the back of my hand—an inky blotch, which I seem to see even now. 'What is that?' cried I, alarmed, I know not why, at the blotch upon my hand.

"That," said he, dropping my hand—"that is the mark by which Benedict Arnold is known in the next world."

"He said no more, gentlemen, but drew from beneath his cloak an object which he placed upon the table—placed it upon the very paper on which I was writing.

"That object, gentlemen, was a skeleton.

"There," said he, "there are the bones of Isaac Hayne, who was hung in Charleston by the British. He gave his life in order to establish the Union. When you put your name to a Declaration of Dissolution, you may as well have the bones of Isaac Hayne before you. He was a South Carolinian, and so are you. But there was no blotch upon his right hand."

"With these words the intruder left me

(incomplete)

A SECESSION JUBILEE

The Buchanan Democracy of South Carolina in Council.

Splendid Banquet to the Hon. Preston S. Brooks.

Gold Goblets, Silver Goblets and a Fresh Supply of Curses.

Terrific Disunion Speeches by Mr. Brooks, Butler, and Senator Toombs, &c.

Fremont's Election to be the Signal for Secession and a Robber's March upon the Treasury.

Volunteers Enlisted--Brooks to Head the Column.

WHICH IS THE DISUNION PARTY?

&c., &c., &c.

[From the Daily Times report.]

The great banquet and presentation to Preston S. Brooks, got up by his constituents of the Fourth Congressional district of South Carolina, took place on Friday, the 2d inst., at Ninety six depot, on the road between Columbia and Greenville, and about two hundred and fifty miles from the city of Charleston. The affair had been for several weeks in preparation. Committees were appointed in the various villages throughout the district to raise funds, arrange the preliminaries, and appoint committees of management. Everybody entered into the business *en masse*; the people grew enthusiastic about it, and money poured in by hundreds, and the several sub-committees met, and went up their business by making the following appointments:

President, Dr. S. V. Cairns.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Dr. J. P. Watts,	Col. L. Boozer,
Col. G. A. Addison,	Dr. John Logan,
Col. J. H. Irby,	Gen. Kinard,
Dr. J. Wardlaw,	J. P. Carroll, Esq.,
Dr. Peter Moore,	Col. T. C. Hammond,
Dr. Thos. Lake,	Col. J. F. Marshall,
N. McCants, Esq.,	Edward Noble, Esq.,

C. P. Sullivan.

Orator of the Day, Gen. A. McGowan.

COMMITTEE OF INVITATION.

Col. A. Simkins,	D. W. L. Templeton,
Dr. E. R. Calhoun,	Thos. Thompson, Esq.,
Gen. Jas. Gillam,	A. C. Garlington, Esq.,
Capt. R. Cunningham,	Geo. P. Quantlebum,

COMMITTEE OF REGISTRATION.

Col. B. T. Watts,	Mr. J. K. Vance,
Col. A. M. Smith,	Col. J. W. Livingston,
Dr. Robert E. Campbell,	W. C. McCarney, Esq.,
Jas. M. Baxter, Esq.,	Joseph Abney, Esq.,
Capt. William Hill,	John S. Lee,
Fremont Martin,	Col. J. C. Parks,
H. H. Stallworth,	Col. B. W. Bell,
W. P. Andrews,	R. W. Campbell, Esq.,
Dr. Moses Taggart,	N. S. McIntosh,
Dr. Geo. H. Waddell,	J. H. Conner,
Samuel Perryman,	Dr. H. Goinsman,
Capt. J. R. Tarrant,	John P. Barrett,
Dr. W. L. Anderson,	Maj. G. Roper,
Col. B. Z. Herndon,	Dr. J. B. Boozer,

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

W. N. Moore,	Stanhope Brooks,
Col. W. A. Williams,	Johnson Sale,
Jas. M. Richardson,	Dr. W. W. Davis,
Dr. Thos. Lake,	Henry Board,
Dr. J. W. Calhoun,	Stanton Thackeray,
Maj. R. A. Griffin,	Capt. W. Cordur,
James Creswell,	James Fisher,
R. M. White,	F. C. Griffin,
N. W. Stewart,	W. N. Blake,
Capt. J. W. Fooseho,	T. C. Farnsworth,
Albert King,	J. W. Child,

G. W. H. Howell.

Marshal of the Day, Col. F. J. Roberts.

DEPUTY MARSHALS.

Maj. Z. W. Carwile,	Capt. John Boozer,
Capt. Wm. Perryman,	Capt. W. W. Griffin,

TREASURERS.

Dr. T. S. Blake,	Dr. W. J. Calhoun,
James W. Richardson,	

About two miles further onward on the road to Columbia, at the depot, was the grand reception for the Brooks festival. From numerous towns of country people on horseback and in wagons, poured in continually from every side, through lanes and cross fields, until, at last, when the hour arrived, the assembled crowd must have numbered at least ten thousand persons. The ladies formed about one-third of the entire audience. Seats were set apart for them in front of the platform, which was erected in a sparsely planted grove. Behind the seats were arranged long tables on which the barbecue dinner was served. Two tables, apart from the rest, were reserved for the ladies and their friends, and the invited guests. About half-past the officers of the day ascended the platform, and the marshals were ordered to conduct Mr. Brooks and the invited guests to the

stand. The citizens then fell into double line, and through the avenue thus formed, extending from the hotel to the platform, Mr. Brooks and the guests proceeded by a band of music, marched to the stand, on which they took their places, amid the huzzas of the spectators. No very rampant enthusiasm was exhibited whilst the addresses were being made, but the applause was ever plentiful, and was obviously sincere. Throughout the whole pro-

ceeded by the occasion, I will endeavor, in a very brief manner, to state some of the most important events which have lately taken place in Congress, and the course in reference to threats of our distinguished representative now present as the guest of this convention.

Fellow citizens, we live in eventful times. The republic, or, which is worse, the liberties of the republic, are in danger.

The great question out of which rise the convulsions that disturb and shake the country as with an earthquake is the question of African slavery. In which our destinies are bound up forever. In comparison with this there is no other question worth attention. Some of the States of this Union enjoy the institution, at slavery, while others do not, and those which do not seem resolved that every new State which may be added to the confederacy shall agree with them upon this subject. Four Territories have been acquired since the adoption of the constitution—some by purchase and some by conquest, and the exciting question which has agitated the country during the last session of Congress is in reference to slavery in these Territories—the common property of the States of this Union.

In order to have a clear view of the principles involved in this controversy, it will be necessary to go back a little; and Gen. McGowan then gives a brief history of the purchase of Louisiana, the compromise of 1820, and the compromise measures of 1850.

Now, fellow citizens, continued Gen. McG., we are in the midst of the third great excitement upon this subject. It arises in the following manner:—Another portion of the Louisiana purchase had been ceded, and it became necessary to provide for it a Territorial government. Accordingly, Congress in 1854 passed the Kansas and Nebraska bill, providing governments for the Territories of that name. These Territories are a part of the Louisiana purchase, and being north of the line of 36 deg. 30 min., were subject to the Missouri restriction; and asasmuch as the Missouri line had, subsequent to the admission of Missouri, been abandoned in reference to territory south of that line, it was thought just to apply the same rule to Territory north of that line—to deal with Kansas and Nebraska as Utah and New Mexico had been dealt with. Hence the Kansas and Nebraska act, which was prepared, proposed and urged through Congress by the honorable Douglas of Illinois—a now slaveholding State—repeated expressly the Missouri restriction, and gave the same rights to the people of those Territories as had been previously given to the people of Utah and New Mexico. This was fair dealing. It was nothing more than sheer justice, equality and right. It was but another application of their own rule. Yet the passage of this bill produced one of the fiercest howls which has ever been extorted from abolition. They abandoned the Missouri line in order, through the operation of another rule, to take from us half of California and nearly all of New Mexico lying south of that line; but when we apply the same rule to territory north of that line, and in doing so ride down the Missouri restriction, they cry out sacred compact and violated faith—they raise a cry of virtuous indignation, shriek for freedom and threaten revolution.

Scarcely had the Kansas and Nebraska bill passed Congress, when there arose a faction at the North composed of the odds and ends of every conceivable extravagance and absurdity—a fusion of all the vilest forms of error and unwise society—whose double purpose seems to have been, and continues to be, first to overthrow the democratic administration and get control of the government in order to repeal the Kansas and Nebraska act; and second, through the instrumentality of abolitionist societies, to mould and shape the sentiment of Kansas so as to exclude slavery, whether they are able to repeal the law or not.

The Kansas and Nebraska bill, which gives equal rights to all the States, and under the operation of which, and which alone, we are enabled to enter Kansas with our property, and fight for our institutions upon the very soil, was signed by Mr. Pierce, the democratic President of the United States, and was a leading measure of his administration. It constitutes the most important plank in the democratic platform, and upon it the existing issues of the day are made up.

Fellow citizens, we approve the act of our immediate representative and distinguished guest in voting for the Kansas and Nebraska bill. We approve the policy of Franklin Pierce in giving his signature to it. We appreciate his heroic struggles to maintain and execute it, and we will give our support to those who are committed to use all the powers of the general government to carry out that act in good faith. We will vote for James Buchanan for President—not in any spirit of man worship, nor because we approve everything which he promises to do or may have done—but mainly because he is the bearer of the democratic standard, upon which is inscribed the repeal of the odious Fugitive act, and the equal rights of all the States in reference to slavery in the Territories. And, fellow citizens at the same time, and for the same reasons, we will war to the knife against that mongrel crew which like the buccaners Morgan, fight and half pirate, with mingled prayers and curses, fights under the black banner of black republicanism—that mongrel mob of free traders, Free-traders, Free-traders and freebooters—(applause)—that robber band, headed by the upstart, renegade traitor, Fremont, who, of all the men I have ever known or heard of, has done more to mar the great exultation of the vanquished patriot.

Oh, Forties, is there not some chosen curse, Some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven, Kept with the common earth, to blast the wretch Who owes his greatness to his country's ruin?

(Loud and prolonged cheers.)
Under the Kansas and Nebraska act Southern emigration poured into Kansas. Nebraska was yielded to the North without a struggle. Kansas, which by its soil and climate, is adapted to slave labor, was because Southern in its feelings, slavery was established by laws of the Territorial Legislature, and it was seen that she was about to

aparty for admission into the Union as a slave State. This alarmed the fanatical faction, and they commenced, and they were now prosecuting in that Territory civil war. In open violation and contemptuous disregard of both the organic act and the laws of the Territory, they set up a government of their own. A few renegades from civil war society met at Peoria, and claiming to act for the whole Territory, adopted a constitution excluding slavery. This production of that treasonable assembly, some of the black republicans had the hardihood to present to Congress, and to urge the admission of Kansas as a free State. Whilst this extraordinary application was pending upon Congress, Mr. Charles Sumner, a Senator from Massachusetts, rose in his place in the Senate, and delivered a

striking characteristic of Southern society, and we, there fore, honor our representative for his course in this particular. We felt that he represented us correctly when, hailing to find Mr. Sumner elsewhere, he walked into the Senate House, and animated by the exact sentiment of his constituency, made the trader of his State and blood lick the dust of the Chamber which he had decried; but we felt even more proud of him when he stood up in the hall of justice and said, "The first political lesson which my ripening faculties fully comprehended and appreciated, was the high moral and social obligation of every citizen to bend himself to the majesty of the law. In obedience to the precepts of my youth, which are sanctioned by the experience and judgment of ripen years, I submit my case to the judgment of the Court." When we heard this, we felt that in the person of our representative was embodied not only the spirit to resent wrong and insult, but also that other spirit—no less creditable—of subordination to law fully constituted authority, which is only cultivated in its highest degree by Christian civilization and a highly cultivated State of society. For the first time in the history of the country, a personal encounter between members of Congress has been regarded into national importance, and taken upon a war cry by one of the parties of the Union. An old, once respectable and respected commonwealth—Massachusetts—precipitantly and without evidence, undertook to pass resolutions of censure upon our representative and of an pertinent requirement upon Congress. The act of our representative, prompted by a burning sense of wrong and by a high and noble impulse, was characterized as a cowardly outrage; and the Congress of the United States was required to expel him as unworthy of a seat in it. The black republican party in the House of Representatives took up the charge as an element of agitation—embazoned upon their banners their own shame, and endeavored to expel him from Congress as unworthy of a seat amongst them. They lauded in their wicked attempt; but in our view it is almost to be regretted that they did fail. If that mongrel crew of black spirits and gray had succeeded in expelling our representative from Congress, without precedent, without law, without propriety or decent pretext, it would have been an ostracism as honorable to him and as immortal in history as that of Aristides, who was expelled from his own city, avowedly because he was the best man in it. The effort to expel Mr. Brooks was a political manoeuvre of a fanatical faction. They wished to weaken the democratic party by assailing him, and they wished to strengthen the black republicans by pointing to the error on Mr. Sumner's head, and the cry of free speech, free soil and Fremont. If the sectional faction wish to make our representative and Mr. Sumner the exponents respectively of the two parties, we certainly have no objection. If they are willing to accept as the living embodiment of their principles and their party Mr. Charles Sumner, with all his cowardice—with all his hypocrisy—with all his cowardice—and with all the deep scars of thunder intrenched upon his forehead, we will accept as the exponent of our section and our party the gallant representative of the Fourth Congressional district of South Carolina, Hon. Preston S. Brooks, who, when provoked beyond endurance by slanders heaped upon his State and absent friend, had the manliness to punish the aggressor by publicly caning him in the Senate Chamber of the United States, and then, like a law loving and law abiding citizen, as he is, submitted himself to the judgment of the law. The effort to expel our representative failed, but pending a resolution to censure him, he resigned his seat. Knowing his constituency, and being unwilling that they should be distressed in his person, he appealed from a black republican House of Representatives to them. They have already justified his confidence and endorsed his course by the most extraordinary election which has ever taken place in this country—by unanimously rising up and re-electing him, without his returning to them at all or being absent from his seat more than a brief period of recreation. During the whole course of this affair we have watched our representative with great and increasing anxiety. We have heard his gallant act in defence of his State and blood hailed as a crime, and embazoned upon the plebeian banners of black republicanism. We have seen that his act disgracing their champion has "from the bottom stirred the hell within" these abolitionists. We have seen him in continual peril, beset by a yelping crew, in and out of Congress, and we knew that, if they wanted the courage to meet his face to face and eye to eye, some of them were not too good to execute their threats of assassination upon him. In the true spirit of their chivalry he has even been invited to traverse the enemy's country—to travel eight hundred miles towards the Falls of Niagara, and thus fall into the ambush of their spirited and patriotic heroes, under the miserable pretext of enjoying the "cool and refreshing breezes of the Clinton House, in Canada." We have observed all this with anxiety, but with an anxiety overbalanced by admiration. We never looked to the scene of struggle but we saw the nothing white plume of our gallant representative waving proudly forward and proudly planted over all, and animated by a spirit in the contest, our work was done. He has been Buchanan and Breckinridge—Kansas and Brooks. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Brooks—(here Mr. Brooks rose)—Sir, the long continued struggle in which you have lately been engaged is now over, and it becomes my pleasing duty, in the name and on the part of your fellow citizens here assembled, to welcome you back again within the limits of your own grateful and proud South Carolina, whose character you have defended, and whose spirit, as is illustrated throughout the Revolution, and more lately on the fields of Mexico, you have so well displayed, maintained and honored. Welcome, sir, welcome back to this part

Congressional district of South Carolina, whose principles you have so well illustrated, and whose venerable and honored son you have detoured at the peril of your life. The Fourth Congressional district now enrolls your name in the long list of distinguished statesmen and orators who have given her renown, and begs me here, with one acclaim, to give you assurance of a unanimous re-election, at an early day, to that Congress which we think you worth, and where we intend you shall remain, without fear, favor or affection, or any dread whatever of the consequences. (Applause.) Well come, thrice welcome, back from the field of strife to the sweet and peaceful bosom of your family, where under the very shadows of the old Star Fort of Ninety-six, you may enjoy repose for a short period and imbibe again the true spirit of the olden time, of which you have shown yourself so noble an exponent. And finally, sir, permit me in the name of the abbeville district—a man held up as the type, the result, the effect of the institution. But let me tell you, fellow citizens, that in one point of view you are as deep in the mire as I am, for they say that I am a correct type also of yourselves. (Applause.) It is a proud distinction to me, an honor I am glad to have. But they say that the "bully"—which is now my sobriquet north of Mason and Dixon's line—is but a fair sample of every slaveholder south of that line. Now, if there is no character on this earth that I despise it is that of the bully. A coward I can pity, for God Almighty in his wisdom has denied him one of the greatest blessings which He can give to man; but the bully—poverty and misuses one of those choicest gifts. Yet that is the character in which I am represented. It is the character in which you are represented. This question of slavery, caught up at the North from the poisoned lips of Wilberforce in England, has been growing and expanding. When it made its appearance first it was not larger than a man's hand; now it is of the size and proportion of an elephant, threatening with its trunk to pull down the very pillars of our government, and involve the country, possibly, in ruin. It has so grown and expanded that friends have been sundered and sections arrayed against each other in a hostility which the people of America, either North or South, feel to no people in the world but themselves. It has divided churches. It has done more. It has broken down political parties. It is now all-consuming and all-absorbing. It is overshadowing everything. It runs into every act of legislation, from the lowest to the highest. You cannot clean out a harbor—you cannot build a custom house—you cannot publish a book without having the question of slavery or anti-slavery controlling votes in the House of Representatives. And why? Because under our system of collecting revenues, the exports, according to our doctrine, pay duty on the imports and fill the treasury. It has continued to grow in magnitude, in violence, in all-absorbing importance, until at last it has developed itself in Kansas, where citizens of the same government have shed each other's blood. May God grant that the few drops which have been shed in Kansas may not foreshadow a coming storm, in which the bad passions of men, fanned by fanaticism, and warring upon those who fight for their homes and firesides—for the honor of their men, and the virtue of their women—may revel uncontrolled, and drench this meek earth in torrents of human blood. We must judge of a party as we judge of an army; we must take its leaders. What have we at the South, with this institution fixed upon us, and become a part of the warp of our society? What have we to expect from a party, one of whose leaders has spoken of the constitution of your country as a league with death and a covenant with hell; and another of whom invokes the "higher law" to authorize him to violate a constitution which he has sworn to support on the book issued to man by the Most High himself—and another of whom (whom it does not become me to speak of but in terms of respect) who has recently said, that when they elected their Northern President they would put into harness the slavery Senate; and if they resisted their strength or their influence, that they would grind them between the upper and nether millstones of abolition power—that man who impudently and impiously asked, as representing the sentiment of this people, an anti-slavery constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God? What can you expect from them? I will tell you, fellow-citizens, what I believe from the bottom of my heart. I set up to have none of the gifts of prophecy; I don't pretend to be a statesman; but I am identified with your interests, and I am a man of common sense. I see what it is coming to, and let me tell you that political questions will have, in a very short time, to be settled, not by statesmen in conclave, but to be cut like the Gordian knot, with the sword. It seems in the providence of God, that the institution of slavery, which has so interwoven itself with our social fabric, that if it falls we fall with it, has to be determined upon the American continent. The problem of slavery finally has to be settled on the American continent. Things are working to a crisis, and a crisis which affects not only your order and your interests, but it affects your vitality—your very existence as a people. The South, immediately after the successful war of the revolution, stood with twelve pro-slavery States against one anti-slavery. The crusade against them has been waged sometimes slowly, by gradual and artful approaches—sometimes by an affected retrocession, then again by a rapid plunge forward. The South, with a magnanimity more generous than discreet, has, time after time, submitted to compromises, every one of which has been her stab under the fifth rib. The first mistake made by the people of the South was made by the patriots of the Revolution. These great and good men—far greater—possibly better—than we would be, said doing better possibly than we would have done under the precise circumstances, were yet warring in our advantages, for the scales have been removed from our eyes and we see things not as they saw them. The first mistake was made on the 13th July in the year 1767, when Virginia, yielding to the yawn of Liberty and of Union, magnanimously surrendered her Northwestern Territory, from which five States alone were to be made, but from which the Yankees have cheated us out of another. When the small States said to the larger—"Why, you, with this territory will overshadow us; we have a great deal to pay; surrender your lands, therefore, to the

common fund; reduce your size to the proper proportions, so that we can live harmoniously"—it was done. It was an act of generosity on the part of Virginia, but it was a mistake. That mistake was incorporated in the ordinance of 1787. The fatal error was the provision by which slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, was forever prohibited there. That was a tactical error, and that slavery was of itself wrong. And here let me tell you that any people who distrust it are not prepared to defend it. I tell you more than that—those great and good men did distrust it. They did not believe at that time that slavery would exist at this day on the American continent. Slave labor had ceased to be profitable in Virginia. Mr. Jefferson, who has been styled the Great Apostle of Liberty, himself distrusted the institution. They thought it was impoverishing their soil and interfering with their property. But the finger of the Almighty, which has left its impress on this institution on more occasions than one, is visible in that very importantly-seeming invention, the cotton gin—cotton itself being an indispensable product, an article of necessity next to bread, for the people of the world. The framers of our constitution and the members of the Confederate Assembly never believed that the institution would be what it is now—the strongest element in the society of one-half of

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ANOTHER SHRIEK FOR DISUNION.

Governor Wise telling what He will Do if the People will Back Him.

Henry A. Wise, Governor of Virginia, being called on lately in a public meeting at Richmond, made a speech, of which we find the following report in the *Herald*:

Mr. President: If this was an ordinary political canvass—if we were not standing upon the very brink of the most terrible of revolutions—if I was not standing in the position that I am, charged with your trust, bound by your obligations, clothed with your power—not only responsible to my God, to my country and to myself, but officially bound by a judicial oath—I would delight, sir, to address this assembly to-night. The ordinary topics I could calmly touch; the ordinary arguments, *pro and con*, as parties have contended heretofore, I could weigh calmly and not distrust myself; but I say to you, that as the Chief Magistrate of this State, I do not feel that I can anticipate coming events, which cast their shadows before them.

None of the old issues disturb me in times like these—about old and state differences in mere party positions. There is a weight at this moment resting upon the minds of serious men, which is oppressive. You have heard of that past time which have tried men's souls. Times are coming, and are near upon us which will again try who are men, who are triflers, and who are traitors. [Enthusiastic cheers.] You, whose minds are occupied in the way of ordinary business, may talk and feel as usual about a Presidential election; you are not called on, as I am, to think and feel about nothing else but the business of the state, the safety of her people; and you may not see the dangers around as I do, because it is not so much your province as mine to look ahead and ask, "What is coming, and what shall be done for the Commonwealth?" though that, as patriots, is your concern as well as mine. But as for me, every moment, every hour almost—every hour, because the small hours are taken from sleep to think. I say every moment is occupied in reflecting *what must the Governor of Virginia do in the coming contingency*. Feel that it is no time to trifle with, no time to hesitate, and yet no time to rashly anticipate any thing, or to say lightly what shall be done. Do not misunderstand me, sir. Dreadful as these responsibilities are, let no man do me the injustice to suppose that I am, at a moment like this, skulking from this responsibility. [Enthusiastic cheers.] Do not suppose that I regret you have placed me where I may be called upon in this border state first to act. You may have found—and would to God you had found—a stronger man to lean upon; but such as I am, physically, mentally and morally, I thank God that I am where I am, and that I am with you, prepared for the worst. [Cheers.] I need your assistance, and every man needs that of his neighbor; but if the worst comes to the worst, and the thunder, and the lightning, and the storm must rage, I say I shall meet it without fear. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

The terms are presented to us, and we have to choose those which are most favorable to our interests. Each party now in the field holds out certain terms, and the question with us is, which are we to accept? I say, if there is a conservative party left in the country—the only national, the only Union-loving party, whose flag waves and floats in every state of the confederacy—that party is the great democratic party. [Loud cheers.] On the one hand you have peace, safety, prosperity, progress, on, on, as we have been going for more than seventy years. But on the other hand, if this ground swell of fanaticism—not in the North alone but in the South as well as in the North, for there is evidence that we have fanatics among us—if the evils of all the isms shall combine, and that which yesterday was the last is no longer the worst; but we have another present which is last and worst; it is all the isms, I say, combined in the superlative ism, which I denounce as demonism. If that shall prevail against Democracy, God knows the question fearfully arises, *what will we do?* To decide this will not depend upon one or two. This puts the argument of the election in its proper light: and whilst I feel the gloom of the responsible position in which I am placed, I may console myself, sir, and I do, that I am but a humble state executive officer—that I will be but ministerial. *I shall have to obey orders—legislative orders, conventional orders.* I have more masters than one. Your organized legislative and judicial power may control me; but above all, that which is above legislative, judicial, and executive power—the constitutional power of the people—may control me. I am glad that I have these great instruments to defend me against the weight and pressure of the responsibility which is now so heavy, and may be so much greater in the future.

About a year ago, or a little more, I warned you that that black, insidious, midnight order, which stalked this state with its dark lantern, and which deceived many honest-minded men, but none of its

leaders—I warned you of the fact that Know-Nothingism would terminate in demonism to distract the South and to fuse in the North. I am not going to debate the question here to-night, *who is right or who is wrong*. God forbid that I should ever debate the question who is right or who is wrong, North or South, or which is the assailant of the other? Sir, if Mr. A or B should knock me down or spit in my face, I would as soon debate with him the question who began the quarrel? If you ask me whether the North is assailing the South or *vice versa*, I tell you there is one piece of inherent evidence that beats the record of evidence out of sight. I would not give one piece of inherent testimony for all the intrinsic evidences in the world. Let me illustrate what I mean.

A party of twelve men are sworn to try the fact whether A assaulted B, or B assaulted A. There are no witnesses present, if you please, but the parties themselves. They are alone with each other on the highway; and from their own stories you learn that the subject matter of the controversy is a piece of property—a bank note, or anything else, which is owned and possessed by the one, and which the other desired to take away. Now, independent of all positive proof, which of the two, in the nature of the case, was to be the assailant—he who had the thing, or he who had it not? The possessor had only to remain at peace in order to continue in quiet possession. The

speech, whether it tends to elect Fillmore or Fremont, so democracy would be defeated. It is more a Fremont than it is a Fillmore speech. I undertake to say to this agitator and disturber of our peace and unity among ourselves, that there is a Mayor in this city, a Commonwealth's Attorney, and a Grand Jury, and he had better look to the clauses of the penal statutes of the code of Virginia, which imposes fine and imprisonment for the offence of speaking, writing or publishing matter tending to impair the value of property in slaves. Draw up the indictment—summon a venire—read the statutes—introduce the offensive Wilmot Proviso speech made years ago in Powhatan, I believe, and his speech made here a few weeks ago in the African Church, a fit rostrum for its black republicanism. Give both in evidence to prove his confessions and the *quo animo* of guilt or innocence; and if he could not be convicted, it would be because he would avail himself of some technical and formal defence. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

I speak more as a citizen—more as a slaveholder—more as a southern man, feeling deeply on this subject, than as one learned in the technicalities of the law, when I say, that if he has not violated the letter, he has violated the whole spirit of the laws for the protection of slave property. [Loud cheers.] He has furnished arguments and rallying cries to the New York *Herald* and *Tribune*, and no has raised a black flag in our very midst. A speech like this—an offence like this—cries to heaven against one who ought to have let his right hand forget its cunning, and his tongue cleave to the roof of his mouth, before he uttered treason to the hearth and home of his mother who bore him. [Tremendous cheers.]

Reusing at the call of the state, now when every loyal spirit is planning for the public good—when the bravest hands are raised to strike for Virginia—it is meanly lurking in our midst one he found false to his trust, his honor and his home, who, seeming sanctions, human and divine, betrays his country and his state to her foes, and sells eternal honor for eternal shame. Justice then reddens into wrath, and demands the culprit for the great example, which will restore social order and reinstate the laws. [Enthusiastic cheers.] The worst of traitors is the traitor to his native land. [Cheers.] He is

A traitor to mankind, who in a cause
That dawn the course of time will fire the world,
Rides not upon the lightning of the sky
To save his country. [Tremendous cheers.]

I love the union of the states better than any Black Republican does. [Cheers.] I know of but one thing worse than disunion—but one, and that is dishonor. [Enthusiastic applause.] I have said it, and I repeat it a thousand times, it is with the union of the states as it is with the union of matrimony—a good man, a good citizen, a good moralist, a good husband, a good father will bear anything, hear on, bear all, bear ever—all except one thing. The moment his honor is touched by a pin's point, he will burst the bonds of union as the burning withes were burst by the vigorous limbs of the yet unborn Nazirite. [Tremendous cheers.]

I believe, and here proclaim it to you in the Capitol of the state over which I am constituted Governor, that the most conservative, the most patriotic thing that you can do to preserve this Union, with all its blessings—and they are immeasurable and innumerable—is, to convince, in some stern, strong form of expression—soberly, seriously, calmly, with the purpose of men who know their rights and dare maintain them—convince these northern demons and the traitors in your midst, that you will not bear dishonor; that you will not submit to be subdued; that you will not submit to be degraded by being provincialized. [Enthusiastic applause.] Convince them of this and your property is safe, your peace is safe, your country is safe. [Cheers.] How will you convince them? I am waiting for your orders. [Loud cheers.]

I want you to ask yourselves first, what you will do. If Buchanan is elected President of the United States there will be no aggression upon us by the government, and you will have nothing to do. You have only to go on and keep the peace. Sit still under your own vine and fig tree, and all will remain happy and united, and your blessings—so far as government protection and executive action are concerned—will be left unmarred. At all events we shall have a respite. [Enthusiastic applause.] But the fearful alternative is, what will you do if the Black Republican candidate is elected?

If Buchanan is not to be elected, God grant that Fillmore, as he is a man of patriotism and principle—for I take great pleasure in testifying to his being a good man, though on the subject of slavery an abolitionist, as I know him to be, from nearly eleven years service with him in Congress—I say God grant that he may be elected if Buchanan is not. But, sir, he is out of sight in this race. He will serve to distract and divide neighbor from neighbor in the South, and to fuse foes in the North. His name will serve to shield some bad man who really do not mean an honest, *bona fide* support to him. [Loud cheers.] It will serve to keep off some good men and divide them from the democracy, though I am glad to see that the best of them are beginning to concede that democracy is the only hope of safety. But, if Fremont is elected, is it a wrong, they will ask, that one man is elected instead of another? Never will we say that that is a wrong.

Fremont is nothing. [Cheers.] He is less than nothing in my estimation. [Enthusiastic cheering.] He is but a mere personation of Black Republicanism—the bearer of the black flag. [Cheers.] The question will not be, shall Fremont reign over you and me? but it will be, shall the black flag be erected, shall the higher law be executed by the President of the United States over the reign of the constitution and the laws? Shall property be invaded with impunity? Yes, you will find hundreds that will say—they begin already to say—"Oh! wait—wait for some overtact—wait for him to do some wrong!" Tell me, will any person entertaining feelings of self-respect, having the spirit and courage of a man, wait to prepare for war while its cloud is in the horizon until after the declaration of war is made?

Tell me, if the hoisting of the Black Republican flag in the hands of an adventurer, born illegitimately in a neighboring state, if not ill begotten in this very city—tell me, if the hoisting of the black flag over you by a Frenchman's bastard, while the arms of civil war are already clashing, is not to be deemed an overt act and declaration of war? Well, sir, you will not only bear the cry, wait, wait, and that, too, in the sacred name of the Union—that can only be saved by action now—they will say wait, wait, wait, not only in the sacred name of conservatism, which they are crushing

Well, now, so it is with the North and the South. The South has property in slaves—a property known to the laws, a possession which is fortified by a quadruple tier of laws—federal constitution and federal statutes, state constitutions and state statutes—and it has rights belonging to that property equally recognised and fortified; and that property and those rights the North desires to abolish, to take away and to destroy. The South desires to be let alone—to be left in quiet, lawful possession; and the North is bent upon disturbing and destroying the quiet possession and enjoyment of that property. Which, in the nature of the case, is bound to be the assailant? He who has no other mode of success but aggression? What among wise and just men ought to be the verdict? Why, that the man with the bank note ought to be allowed safely to walk the highway with it in his pocket, and his lawful property ought not to tempt any one to assail him for its possession. [Cheers.] And the South ought to be let alone, and no power ought, without law and against law, to attempt to abolish and destroy its property in slaves. And the fact proves itself that the party which would abolish and destroy the property is necessarily the party which must assault the party which possesses it. Attempt not to abolish the legal rights and possessions, and there will be no war. But there is war, and the subject of controversy is property, which is lawful in the one, and which the other would destroy; and the war itself, for such a cause, shows who is the assailant.

So stands the case as to who is in the wrong. You need not tell me, then, who voted for the Missouri Compromise or who voted against it. I know this about it, that the Missouri restriction was the first proposition made that slave property should not be enjoyed; that the compromise was, that it should not apply to the state of Missouri in particular, but that the restriction should apply to all territory north of the line of 36 deg. 30 min., without an equivalent south of that line; that the restriction which assailed the rights of property without compensation was no compromise; that there was no constitutional power to press it; and that its repeal restores the constitution as the true compact between the parties. [Cheers.]

I know, moreover, Mr. President, that demonism is complaining, hypocritically, that the peaceful rights of property, and the peaceful settlements of the people upon the public lands of Kansas are assailed—a territory not yet a sovereignty, but a mere creature of sovereignty, with no other guarantee of government than an organic act of Congress. While they complain that border-ruffians are assailing persons and property in Kansas, Black Republican ruffians are assailing persons and property every day and every hour, within the sacred limits of the sovereign state of Virginia, all along a line of nine hundred miles of her boundary and frontier.

Virginia was sovereign before the Union began—she is one of the old thirteen original states, who, since independence, have been the creators of sovereignties—who created sovereignties to be equal, not to be superior to themselves. She asks only for equality out of her limits, only for peace within her limits. [Enthusiastic cheers.] She has every guarantee of original right, of sovereignty, of constitutions and of laws; and yet a black power without her limits assumes to say, and does say, and persists in saying, that slave property shall not be peaceably and safely engaged within the limits which she reserved from her original vast proportions—that the constitution and the laws shall not reign anywhere in respect to these rights on the subject of slavery.

You might as well own a thousand dollars floating on a chip on the Ohio river, as to own a slave worth a thousand dollars on the banks of that stream in the limits of Virginia. Is this to be borne much longer? If Kansas may complain of her wrongs, may Virginia not still more complain? If sympathy is roused for rights in the territory, may we not be pardoned for having sympathies for our own rights in a state? [Enthusiastic cheers.]

Now, what is the issue, the alternative? With civil war raging in Kansas about slavery and its rights; with a Black Republican mob seizing all the powers of the sovereign state of California, and hanging and banishing peaceable citizens, and imprisoning Supreme judges; with incendiary revolution attempted in the popular branch of Congress, and for a time—aye, for a session of Congress—successful, and within three votes of being finally successful; with the black light, with rizer down, standing astride the limits of Virginia, and forbidding and preventing the reign of law for the protection of property and for safety to our limits.

In this state of things, with these magazines ready to explode, with these burning ploughshares under our feet, whilst the strength of Fillmore is nothing, whilst the old whig party is dissolved, whilst but two antagonisms are left, when the whole issue is slavery or abolition, Fremont or Buchanan, democracy or demonism—tell me whether the issues are not terrible for sheer sectionalism to rear a black flag in sixteen states of the Union only, where there is a numerical majority of a people without a tie or association with the property to be protected, and when it dares not raise its standard in the other fifteen states for fear of their penal laws? They are fearful issues; they are issues of peace or war—of civil war, of blood, disunion and death. [Tremendous cheers.]

Sir, to tell me we should submit to the election of a Black Republican, under circumstances like these, when the election would be an open, overt proclamation of public war, is to tell me that Virginia and her fourteen sister slave states are already subjugated and degraded—[cheers]—that the southern people are without spirit and without purpose to defend the rights they know and dare not maintain. [Cheers.] When in Charlestown, Kasawha county, last year, I was told by the best authority that that town was paying eighty dollars a night to guard against the escape of fugitives from the salines of Kanawha. Was ever a stamp tax like that? Yet such is the tax already levied by Black Republicanism upon us from without our borders and within our limits.

What would be our burdens, if the whole Executive power of the federal government, great as it is, should be put into the hands of Black Republicanism, by a prescriptive sectionalism, for the very purpose of invading our property in our very homes, at the hazard of our lives? Do sober, rational minds, expect us to wait, and submit a moment, if the trust of that power shall be confided to demonism for such a purpose? [Cheers.]

Should John C. Fremont be thus elected by Black Republicans, tell me, men who are jealous of your rights, would you dare trust him and his party, after the proclamations they have made, after the blood they have shed, after the losses and burdens they have already imposed? [Loud cheers.] I know not what you will do, for we have enemies in our midst, whom it behooves us to guard against with no less vigilance than against those beyond our limits, and we have men who set themselves up for the only true conservatives, who are wolves in sheep's clothing—men who pretend to be for Fillmore, but who would throw up their caps if John C. Fremont were elected.

I do not hesitate to say that I believe there are many voters in the state of Virginia ready to follow the leader of a party in this town, who made that execrable speech at the African church, in his treason to his state, his kindred and his home, which he openly publishes. [Cheers.] I wish he had been battling for Fillmore alone; but the effect of his blows is to tend to the election of Fremont. Fillmore is an angel of light compared to Fremont. [Cheers.] God only knows what the real intent of the speech was, but I have no hesitation in saying that I regard John Minor Botts as utterly heedless of the effect of that

ing; but they will go further.

My friend (Mr. Scott) asked this evening what Southern man would dare take office under Fremont? I tell him man after man—I can lay my finger upon them—that will say, "Oh! you will allow us to take office, because we will go in to protect your rights!" They will have us to wait that they may have the privilege of holding office. If you submit to the election of Fremont, you will prove what Seward and Burlingame have said, to be true—that the South cannot be kicked out of the Union. There will be no limit to aggression. There will be an unlimited, degrading submission.

In this state of things what do we see? The farce of legendarian played by parties, pretending to be opposed to each other, every day, at every convention, and every meeting of the people, pretending to quarrel, and then fusing; those that style themselves the "other" party, and the Know-Nothings calling themselves the "other" party. [Laughter and cheers.] The whigs hold a convention, and you see it full of Know-Nothings; and the Know-Nothing hold a convention, and you see it full of whigs; and they claim to be the "other" party or the "other" party, according to the circumstances, while they are all fusing in the North and distracting the South.

How long are you southern people to be honey-fugged, cajoled and cheated out of your rights and peace, and social safety, by this sort of legendarian? I believe, confidently believe, that the God of nations has an eye over the destinies of this land, and that the eyes of the people will be opened before the day of election, and that they will not be allowed to strike the blows of blind giants upon the Constitution, and thereby involve all in one indiscriminate ruin. [Loud cheers.] I hope and trust in God that we shall be saved from such a calamity. [Cheers.] He is a deadly enemy to his country; he is a dastard; he is a demon; he is guilty of the sin of Cain; he is the worst of murderers—a fratricide, who would, without sufficient cause, light the flames of civil war. But,

Rather than wear dishonored chains,

Or follow captives at the trophied car,

Give us again the wildness of our woods,

And the fierce freedom of our great forefathers.

[Tremendous cheering.] I would preach peace. I would vote for peace—peace and honor. [Cheers.] Look up to heaven, or, turning look down upon the earth of our native land, and ask yourselves, tell yourselves the answer to the question, which is everlastingly occurring to me—what will you do if this proclamation of war is made? Do you ask me what I will do? I say to you that I reserve my answer for the present. Considering the question deliberately, calmly, and being well fortified in the thought, I deliberately say to you that I will do whatever you will back me in, to save us or die. [Tremendous applause.]

I am making no threats. I will remember the oath I have taken to preserve the constitution and defend the right of the people—I will fight for them, if I must fight, to save, not to destroy. [Enthusiastic applause.] War is a terrible thing, and we all have to remember that if it begins, it will not only be the North against the South, it will be a civil war of neighborhoods for liberty against despotism—for right against power. [Cheers.] Our enemies will remember that if they have a minority in Virginia, we have a minority in New England, New York and Ohio, and everywhere North. If they have their fifty or sixty thousand left them in the state of Virginia, in every northern state we have hundreds of thousands of arms that are with us. [Tremendous cheers.] You have more than your own power at home.

The saddest reflection to me is, that in such a crisis there will be found many traitors among us. But if we may have enough to do with these few at home, the Black Republicans have enough to do with the thousands that are still left in the northern states, to battle for the Union and the rights of all. [Tremendous cheers.] Virginia has not depopulated herself without some return of the bread she has cast on the waters. There is many a heart in every state in the Union that has gone from the home of a Virginia family—many an arm that was conceived in the womb of a Virginia mother—that will, when the dogs of war are let slip, be raised in vindication of her rights. [Loud cheers.]

We have friends across the water, too, as well as foes, who will cry havoc in such a war. [Cheers.] What they consider our very weakness we will prove to be our strength. With a proper knowledge of military discipline, I will prove that our faithful slaves can and will repel the Black Republicans and their traitorous allies who may invade us.

These remarks were hailed with vociferous cheers.

The meeting then separated, it being within a few minutes of 12 o'clock.

WILL KANSAS BE A SLAVE STATE?—What the Pro-Slavery men think about it.—The St. Joseph (Mo.) correspondent of the Missouri Republican, (one of the most decided pro-slavery journals to be found anywhere) writing from St. Joseph under date of March 15th says: "The emigration to Kansas reminds me of that to California in the days of its greatest allurements. Trains upon trains are pouring in from every quarter, but particularly from the free States. I had once thought, as I used to write you, that Kansas would be a slave State, but I am now forced to alter my opinion, from the overwhelming evidences to the contrary that force themselves upon me every day. Our ferry-boats are busily engaged from daylight until dark in carrying over trains, and the proportion of free-soil to the pro-slavery immigrants, is as fifteen to one.— This is not confined alone to our point of crossing, but it is so at every other that I can hear from, and it satisfies me that the political destiny of Kansas is fixed beyond all question. Wars and rumors of wars she will know no more, but peace will brood over her beautiful prairies and prosperity will reign throughout her borders. I am a pro-slavery man, and would prefer to see my favorite institution established there; but I am, nevertheless, convinced that the energetic, enterprising Yankee will develop the resources and build up the country sooner than we could do, and that by living in harmony with them as our neighbors they will do us no injury in our peculiar property."

We clip the above item from the New Orleans Delta, simply to show that the South are inclined to submit quietly to the will of the majority; when there is anything like fair play manifested on the part of the opposition. There has not been, to our knowledge, as reconciliatory an article written by the boisterous free state party in Kansas, as the above, since the question was first agitated. We are inclined to believe that the Kansas free state *thunder* has been spent in an impolitic effort to batter down their own fortifications, but as the second sober thought is now fast coming over their wild dreams, there appears to be quite a softening down, which may result in the future peace and quiet of all those interested in that "bone of contention." If the free state men would only repudiate their Topeka resolutions—wipe all out, and commence anew, how much better would their motives appear to the world—people could begin to make plausible calculations about *results*; a different feeling would pervade every breast—the reveille would not be heard at the break of day—the din of arms would cease to startle the impatient soldier, and all would soon be quiet, and sweet dreams would direct the soul to a more elevated occupation than bearing arms against brothers and sires.

Kansas now, or future Kansas, 'what is to be will be;' whatever *sovereign will* declares to be *law*, must stand until the same power modifies or repudiates. In a Republic like ours, these changes can be brought about more readily than by a resort to arms—a *free* people never was constituted to bow or submit to a policy forced upon them by flying balls or clashing steel. *Reason* has more influence than shell or cannister, and it is to that alone we must look for the final adjustment of all our difficulties—it is this alone that can or ever will sway the sceptre of freedom, or hold at will, the minds of the American people.

James Hunt 3 - '57



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WASHINGTON.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1857.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF '98 AND '99.

Finding in a recent number of the new Democratic journal of Richmond, "*The South*," a candid controversion of some remarks which we lately took occasion to offer upon the conflicting issues made and the contrary principles defended in the name of "State Rights," we recur to the subject to-day rather for the purpose of responding to the courteous criticisms of our able contemporary than with the view of entering at length into a discussion involving the whole theory and relations of our complex political system. The article to which we allude is as follows:

FROM "THE SOUTH."

STATE RIGHTS THE HOPE OF THE UNION.—The reproach of being in the interest of the British Government, with which the *National Intelligencer* is occasionally assailed by Democratic papers, [which the *Intelligencer* itself has never condescended to notice,] implies a singular injustice to them. To pretend to suspect the patriotism of that venerable and respectable journal is but the stale expedient of an unscrupulous partisanship. The policy which it has pursued with such consistency during the last half century is, however, a legitimate subject of criticism; and, while we willingly concede the purity of its motive, we must be allowed to contest the wisdom of its conduct.

There may have been a period in the history of the Confederacy when it was more exposed to the peril of anarchy than of consolidation. If there was ever such a day, the high Federal notions of the *National Intelligencer* were natural, because compatible with its intense and somewhat exclusive attachment to the Union. In navigation allowance must be made for an undue deflection of the needle, and it may be necessary to deviate a little from the course in order to bear up against the pressure of a contrary gale.

But the wind has shifted, and now blows a tempest from an exactly opposite point. Will not the *Intelligencer* put about to face this new peril, or will it be driven away to inevitable destruction?

We suppose there is no person so blind or so unfeeling as to contend that the Union is more in danger from the separation than the consolidation of its members. On the contrary, every body understands that, despite the constant ascendancy of the Democratic party, the principle of centralization has overborne, if it has not quite overwhelmed, the principle of State rights and strict construction. The doctrines of the "Virginia school" are as popular in theory as when Madison expounded and Jefferson administered them; but in practice they command much less authority and observance. Periodically reaffirmed in Democratic conventions, they are habitually disregarded by a portion of the Democratic party. Every national "platform" pledges the Democracy against internal improvements by the General Government, yet not a Congress passes but that river and harbor bills are enacted with the aid of Democratic votes. It is a scandalous breach of faith and outrage upon principle. And the evil has grown to such audacity that even this simple protest is apt to incur its dreadful anathemas—perhaps even a formal excommunication from the Democratic party! Happily, Virginia (sacred soil) still affords a sanctuary to those who suffer for righteousness' sake.

The *Intelligencer* is so far warranted by fact as it stigmatizes the *cult* of State rights, which, like religious cant, is common just in proportion as the true faith is contemned in practice. But the *Intelligencer* is utterly wrong in apprehending any danger to the Union from an extreme application of the principles of strict construction. The peril lies in the opposite direction. Dead and despised in name, Federalism is yet an influential agency in the Government. The States are dwarfed to

the dimension of respectable provinces; the Federal Government has been aggrandized at their expense until its supremacy is beyond question or control. And this process of consolidation goes on in geometrical progression; so that, unless it be arrested, it must end in the speedy and inevitable destruction of the Union.

Already Black Republicanism is dominant in the popular branch of Congress; its ascendancy in the Senate is neither uncertain nor remote. It barely failed, in the last election, to usurp control of the Executive; and every omen promises success at the next trial. In view, then, of the possible, if not probable ascendancy of Abolitionism in every branch of the Federal Government, we foresee no safety for the South and the Union but in such an interpretation of Federal power as will shield slavery under the sovereignty of the States, and oppose the barrier of strict construction to the march of Northern aggression. This is the judgment of the Supreme Court; and hence their recent affirmation of the principles of State rights and strict construction. They observe the undue aggrandizement of the Federal Government; and they recognise the necessity of arresting its centralizing tendencies.

Undoubtedly there is but one resource for the South; and that is to restrict the Federal power so that it may not be perverted into an instrument of aggression upon slavery. If that be not done, the South will find no security in the Union. Thus is it the duty of the *Intelligencer*, out of mere loyalty to the Union, to help reinforce the principles of State rights and strict construction.

That our respected contemporary will so far overcome the force of prejudice and habit as to abjure its Federalism, avow itself a disciple of the "Virginia school," and accept the Resolutions of '98 and '99 as the symbol of its political faith, we take to be a somewhat improbable contingency.

We might, perhaps, find a sufficient apology for any thing that we may have said in derogation from the specific and peculiar efficacy of "the resolutions of '98 and '99," as an antidote for "centralizing tendencies," in the very frank admission of *The South* that, "despite the constant ascendancy of the Democratic party, (their reputed custodians,) the principle of centralization has overborne, if it has not quite overwhelmed, the principle of State rights and strict construction." Nothing that we may have doubtfully intimated as to the occult virtues of that political specific for all the maladies of the body politic can have half so much tended to weaken the popular faith in its usefulness as the confession volunteered, more in sorrow than in anger, by our Democratic contemporary. For we have always treated the resolutions in question as an integral element of the Democratic creed, since, besides their annual re-affirmation by the Democracy of Virginia, we remember that they were incorporated into the national platform of the party by the Democracy of the whole Union assembled in convention at the city of Baltimore in the year 1848. We have, therefore, always been disposed to treat them at least with the respect due to dogmas possessing some vitality even beyond the limits of the "sacred soil" which first gave them birth and which still remains their chosen "sanctuary." If in former days we may have felt it our duty to resist extreme pretensions set up under the shield of the "Virginia Resolutions," our zeal in opposing them was proportioned to our belief in the hold they retained on the public mind; but if, as "*The South*" informs us, they are now habitually disregarded by such a large and predominant portion of the Democratic party that those who venture still to quote them as "authority" are threatened with "formal excommunication" from the Democratic fold, we may hereafter spare ourselves the unnecessary trouble of seeking to explode a faith which is preached

in word but "contemned in practice" by all save the Virginia Democracy.

And in the light of these facts we beg respectfully to submit to our esteemed contemporary of Richmond that it makes a rather exorbitant demand on our complacency, to say nothing of what may be due to consistency, when it mildly intimates that at this late day we should "so far overcome the force of prejudice and habit" as to avow ourselves "disciples of the 'Virginia school,' and accept the resolutions of '98 and '99 as the symbol of our political faith," and that too at a time when, as it seems, they are falling into desuetude with the great mass of those who have hitherto been their hereditary patrons. We perhaps have as little "Federalism" to abjure (using the term in its technical and partisan sense) as any among our contemporaries who stood with us hand in hand around the Administrations of JEFFERSON and MADISON. But whatever "Federal notions" we may have contra the Republican school at a day when Mr. J. MADISON said, "We are all *Republicans*, we are *not* *Federalists*," are not likely, as our friend of "The South" conjectures, to be hastily exchanged for doctrines which are rendered none

the more acceptable to us from the fact that they are rapidly becoming unpopular as well as mischievous. For, though the unpopularity of a doctrine would not, it is hoped, deter us from its advocacy if convinced that it was right, we have yet no disposition wantonly to perpetuate the breach between ourselves and the Democracy by now changing our position with respect to a point upon which it seems a great majority of the party have already changed theirs. It would indicate a perverse antagonism if we should choose to go wrong as the Democracy come right.

"The South," however, is most probably correct when it affirms that "the doctrines of the 'Virginia school' are as popular in theory as when MADISON expounded and JEFFERSON administered them, though in practice they command much less authority and observance." And we may be permitted to suggest, as furnishing perhaps a sufficient explanation of the diminished regard in which they are practically held, that they have in more modern times been greatly perverted from the bearing and import which they were understood to convey in the day "when Mr. MADISON expounded and Mr. JEFFERSON administered them." We are, therefore, not a little gratified to perceive that our Richmond contemporary, while still owning allegiance to these ancient doctrines, accepts them as they were expounded by Mr. MADISON, and not in the exaggerated form foisted upon them by those who in later times have assumed to be their expositors and defenders. What was Mr. MADISON's interpretation of the resolutions of '98 and '99 is doubtless familiar to all our readers as well as to "The South;" but the political wisdom couched in all the utterances of that great statesman will justify us in quoting a single expression of his opinions under this head:

"MONTPELIER, MAY 8, 1830."

"You have succeeded better in your interpretation of the Virginia proceedings in '98-'99 than those who have seen in them a coincidence with the nullifying doctrines, so called. This doctrine, new to me as it was to you, derives no support from the best contemporary elucidations of these proceedings—the debates on the resolutions, the addresses of the Legislature to its constituents, and the scope of the objections made by the Legislatures of the other States whose concurrence was invited and refused."

"The error in the late comments on the Virginia proceedings has arisen from a failure to distinguish between what is declaratory of opinion and what is *ipso facto* executory; between the rights of parties and of a single party; and between resorts within the purview of the Constitution and the *ultima ratio* which appeals from a Constitution, cancelled by its abuses, to original rights paramount to all constitutions."

But "The South" supposes that "there is no person so blind or so uncandid as to contend that the Union is more in danger from the separation than the consolidation of its members." Without, we hope, incurring the penalty of being classed under either of these categories, we confess that the whole history of the Republic, as well as our daily observation, teaches us that the centrifugal tendencies of our political system are greatly in excess over the centripetal, though the balance has, thus far, been wonderfully preserved; we say *wonderfully*, for it is well known that not a few among even the founders of our National Government feared they had not sufficiently guarded against the violence of faction in the several States. Mr. MADISON, however, in an early number of "The Federalist," pointed out the advantages possessed by the Union over the single States for repressing the spirit of faction; and hence it was that he saw "in the extent and proper structure of the UNION a republican remedy for the diseases most incident to republican government," and founded on this theory the argument that, "according to the degree of pleasure and pride we feel in being Republicans, ought to be our zeal in cherishing the spirit and supporting the character of Federalists."

The evils against which Mr. MADISON perceived it to be necessary to provide in the formation of the Federal Constitution are precisely such as have arisen in the subsequent history of the Republic, though the loyal spirit which has ever pervaded the great mass of the American People, and which still prevails in undiminished force, has thus far preserved our civil system, as we trust it will ever preserve it, from the shock of intestine commotion and from the dilapidation which must surely befall the house that is divided against itself.

But if a barrier is to be erected, as "The South" believes, against "the march of Northern aggression," the Resolutions of '98 and '99, with all the buttresses they bring to "the principles of State rights and strict construction," will furnish, we fear, but an insecure rampart to those who of old have entrenched their forces behind them, seeing, as recent events indicate, that the guns of that battery have been seized by those who now deem themselves called to resist "the aggressions of the South." It is quite certain that this political artillery cannot equally answer the ends of both parties in this con-

test, unless indeed, as we more than half suspect, it should be found to perform the office of Chinese guns, which are said to do equal execution to those who stand behind and those who stand before them. And when we consider the perils that environ an old field-piece which may have done good service in the political wars of '98 and '99, but now, from the cracks and flaws against which nothing human is proof, more likely to explode in the hands that use it than to carry dismay into the opposing hosts, we would advise, as the highest strategy which either party can display, that they should both agree to banish from their ranks an arm of defence which experience has proved to be equally antiquated and untrustworthy.

The telegraphic dispatches are making wild work with the events of the day. They are exciting enough without exaggeration and misstatement. But every day sends us some new report, which comes to be contradicted by a subsequent one in a few hours; or, examined with caution, is manifestly a blunder.

The last specimen of this sort is the sending of a report from Washington, dated the 12th, to the effect "the Declaration of Independence by South Carolina was laid before the President to-day."

South Carolina has been very fast, indeed, in her movements to escape the Lincoln domination in the Union. But she has not gone so far as this by some long steps. It is a favorite theory of South Carolina that a State may, at her sovereign pleasure, withdraw at any time from the Union, for causes of which she is the sole judge. She affirmed that doctrine in the most positive manner by the ordinance in which she seceded from the Union, and her public men have often reaffirmed it since. It was contained in the formula by which she invited the other Southern States to take counsel with her last year after the breaking out of the Harper's Ferry raid. The insertion of that claim of right into the proposition for a conference, was made one of the grounds assigned by Governor Hicks of Maryland for his opposition to the scheme. South Carolina has been invariably in her assertion of this right—but her doctrine is that it can only be exercised by the people in convention, called with all the forms of the existing Constitution. She does not assert the power of a Legislature to declare the secession of a State, and still less does she support the theory of original popular sovereignty; that is, the right of the unorganized masses to a community to fix the political status of the commonwealth. She is a rigid stickler for established order, the binding force of constitutions, and the supremacy of law within her own domain.

It is therefore absurd to say that the manifestations of popular feeling, however emphatic and united, or even the action of the Legislature, however unanimous, make a Declaration of Independence. There is no such thing to be laid before the President of the United States, and it is scarcely excusable to send abroad such reports, to add unnecessary fuel to excitement which is already dangerously great, and aid in disappointing the hope that matters may yet be so adjusted, through the common action of all the States concerned as deeply as South Carolina is, in the issues of the great controversy, as to bring concert out of this chaos, and bring even South Carolina into such accord with her sister States as to convince her all her rights and all our rights may be maintained and defended successfully together. The support of slave institutions and Southern rights is our cause not less than here, and between the initiative of that step, which looks to independence out of the Union, as has last and inevitable remedy, and the final declaration of that independence, there may be done, by wise and united councils, a great deal to bring the Southern people into such a unanimous accord that even the consolidated North will not dare to refuse them justice.

THE YANCEY SCHOOL DENOUNCED IN YANCEY'S OWN DISTRICT.

[From the Mobile Register, Nov. 9.]

Other grave errors of the Breckinridge party we might expose, but these suffice for our purpose, which is to warn the people against the effort surely to be made by the leaders of the Yancey school of using that party as the instrument for "precipitating," without consulting the people of these States into a revolution. Comprising a majority of the professional politicians, this party, of course, has a majority in the Legislature, and it is by acts of the several Legislatures and by individual acts that it is attempted to commit us, whether we will or not, in a manner which will array Southern pride and Southern patriotism against Southern judgment, well knowing that with our people that pride must and will overrule mere interest, just as a man will defend a friend for an act which in itself he disapproves. The slightest spark once thrown into a powder magazine, it is too late to talk of prudence and precautionary measures. Let, therefore, every true Alabamian insist on the calling of the Convention, for which the Legislature, in the exercise of its lawful powers, has provided. It is rumored that the Legislature will be convened, to absolve the Governor from the necessity of calling that Convention, and will then proceed to take measures to place the State in an attitude of irreconcilable hostility. This timely exposure of the plot may serve to nip it in the bud. Let the Convention be called, let the questions involved in our future action be thoroughly discussed before the people, and then let every true man obey the will of the people in their sovereign capacity, under penalty of being treated as a traitor to the land which gave him birth or shelter. We are not children to be "precipitated" but men who can and will resolve on a course in which to persist, come what, come may.

The Ladies for Lincoln—Female Wide-Awakes.

We are always gratified to find the ladies on the side of Freedom, as we are always sure to find them on the side of Union. The following account of a vote and procession which took place at the Mount Holyoke Seminary, is extracted from a letter written by one of the participants in the vote, but not in the procession—the fair writer having honored "her beloved Douglas" with her vote:

The prayer of the petitioner having been granted, each teacher collected the votes of her class, and the general result was proclaimed by the Principal. More than three-fourths of the votes cast were for Lincoln. "Honest Abe" having been thus elected, a meeting was called, and it was resolved to celebrate the victory by a grand torchlight procession. In the evening, therefore, the halls were crowded with excited girls, running hither and thither, with their night lamps for torches, in their hands, laughing and shouting, and drinking lemonade, just as you men drink stronger potations on similar occasions, until the order was given to form "two and two." This having been obeyed in a manner worthy of your Wide-Awakes, they marched from the basement to the fourth story, and back again to basement—the whole affair occupying an hour. A banner was carried in front of the line, bearing this inscription:

PRESIDENT—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Behind a homely exterior, we recognize inward beauty.

Three cheers were given (you ought to have heard those cheers!) for the President elect, and the fun was over.

We Democrats also held a meeting, and resolved to go into mourning for our beloved Douglas; and now the worshippers of the "Giant" are recognized by a band of women on the left arm.

Secession Impossible—Why Senator Toombs Resigned.

[Correspondence of the Philadelphia Press.]

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13.

South Carolina has no courage to secede alone. If she had, her Legislature would not have called a Convention to meet on the 17th of December, but would have acted immediately. Before that time has arrived, the second sober thought will have convinced the people of the Cotton States that their safety and happiness lie within, but not without the Union. They have hardly commenced to carry out their Disunion follies, and already their monetary affairs are in such a state that the Legislature must imitate the policy of Austria, by authorizing the banks to issue more shopkeepers, hoping that thereby they will be able to relieve the embarrassment. But, instead of a benefit, the people of South Carolina will become still more involved, as the neighboring States will not accept their worthless paper money. Commercial intercourse, even between the Cotton States, will cease under such circumstances, and the people, especially the property holders, will be glad if the flag of thirty-three States waves again above their heads. But not only financial embarrassment will make secession impossible. There is too much good sense left with our Southern citizens, as that they should court the rule of "Minute Men" and anarchy. The citizens of Augusta have already spoken, and others will follow. They have denounced the "reign of terror" which the Yanceys, Rhett, Toombs, and other particular friends of our worthy Chief Magistrate, want to introduce into their midst. Besides, the new debts, created by their Legislatures for preparing this Don Quixotic enterprise of secession, will fall heavily upon their shoulders. In short, the postponement of the execution of the Disunion scheme till the 17th of December is the deathblow to Disunionism.

Senator Toombs has resigned—of course, as everybody will presume, for the benefit of disunionism. But that is not so. His resignation is merely the last card he has to play to get the renomination of the Democratic members of the Georgia Legislature for Senator. He and Howell Cobb are running an excited race for that position. Each one wants to outdo the other in disunionism, believing it just now to be fashionable with the Southern legislators. Nevertheless, it will help Mr. Toombs very little, as his power in his State is entirely gone. Neither will Howell Cobb get the nomination in the caucus, as I know from very good sources that he lacks six votes (which never will be cast for him), & successful.

tion of Mr. Lincoln carries with it the assurance that the policy and principles of the party by which he was elected will prevail, and be carried into practical effect in every department of the Federal Government, and thereby will endanger the peace and safety of the slaveholding States. Is this apprehension well founded? Do the results of the recent election justify this apprehension? The President can do nothing except what the law authorizes. His duty is to see the laws faithfully executed. If he fails to perform this duty he will soon find himself a prisoner before the High Court of Impeachment. Fortunately that tribunal is so constituted as to command the confidence of the people of the entire South as well as of the conservative men of the North. We have this security that the existing laws will be faithfully executed.

I have yet to learn that the people of the South complain of the acts of Congress *in* the statute book, upon the subject of Slavery, as applicable to the States or the Territories, or to the District of Columbia. These laws were enacted, mainly, if not entirely, by the joint action of the conservative members of the North and South, in opposition to the Abolitionists and Freesoilers, and have been acquiesced in by the Southern people as well as by their Senators and Representatives, under the present and preceding administrations of the Federal Government. Consequently, it is fair to presume that the South, so far from demanding the repeal of the existing laws upon the subject of Slavery as essential to her safety and equality in the Union, will insist on their being retained upon the statute book, and faithfully executed. Nor are we permitted to infer that the Southern people require any additional legislation by Congress on this subject, for the reason that the Southern Senators and Representatives have not introduced and advocated any changes in the existing legislation upon the Slavery question under the present Administration, and that of Mr. Pierce, when the Abolitionists and Freesoilers were in the minority in both Houses of Congress.

Assuming, therefore, that the Southern people and their Senators and Representatives deem their rights and institutions entirely safe under the Constitution and laws as they now stand, and only desire to be let alone without any interference by Congress with their domestic concerns, the question arises whether Mr. Lincoln and his party will have the power, even if they have the disposition, to disturb and impair the rights and institutions of the South, either in the States or Territories, or in the District of Columbia? They certainly cannot do it under the existing laws. Will they have the power to repeal or change these laws, or to enact others? It is well known that they will be in a minority in both houses of Congress, with the Supreme Court against them. In the Northern States there have been elected already a sufficient number of Democratic members of Congress, bold and true national men, pledged to the Cincinnati platform and the doctrine of non-interference by Congress with the question of Slavery in the States and Territories, and the District of Columbia, who, added to the Southern Representatives, will give at least twenty majority against Mr. Lincoln and his party on all these questions. In the Senate there is also a reliable majority. Hence no bill can pass either house of Congress impairing or disturbing the rights or institutions of the Southern people in any manner whatever.

themselves, so as to give an Abolition majority in consequence of their absence.

In a minority in both houses of Congress, with the Supreme Court to expound the laws and restrain all illegal and unconstitutional acts, the President will be utterly powerless for evil, if he should have the disposition to do wrong. Even in the distribution of his patronage, he would be dependent upon the Senate for the confirmation of his nominees to office, so that he cannot appoint a bad man to office without the consent of those in whom the South confides. A partisan President, thus tied hand and foot, powerless for good or evil, without the consent and support of his political opponents, should be the object of pity and commiseration, rather than of fear and apprehension, by a brave and chivalrous people. What good or harm can he do to anybody, except to humble the pride and wound the sensibilities of a large portion of the American people by occupying the chair once filled by Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Jackson? Does this fact furnish sufficient cause for destroying the best Government of which the history of the world gives an example? Four years will soon pass away, when the ballot-box will furnish a peaceful, legal and constitutional remedy for all the evils and grievances with which the country may be afflicted.

If, in the mean time, any act shall be perpetrated which shall violate or impair the rights of any citizen or State, or shall endanger the peace and safety of any portion of our people, for which the Constitution and laws shall fail to provide adequate and efficient remedies, the time will then have arrived for those who think the Constitution has been disregarded and the Federal power perverted to purposes inconsistent with their safety, honor and equality, to consult and deliberate upon the nature, extent and mode of redress.

I do not anticipate, nor do I deem it possible in the present condition of the country, that, under the administration of Mr. Lincoln, any act can be perpetrated that would destroy or impair the constitutional rights of the citizen, or invade the reserved rights of the States upon the subject of Slavery; but, if I should find myself painfully mistaken on this point, I have no hesitation in expressing my deliberate conviction that such an outrage would not only make the Southern people a unit, but would arouse and consolidate all the conservative elements of the North in firm and determined resistance, by overwhelming majorities.

In such an event, the South would occupy an impregnable position. With her own people united and animated by one sentiment—the unflinching resolve to maintain and defend their rights and liberties as won by the blood of their fathers and guaranteed by the Constitution of their country, they could safely rely upon the justice of their cause and confidently expect the sympathy of the civilized world and the choicest blessings of Divine Providence while struggling for the right. Under these circumstances I can perceive no just cause, no reasonable ground for such rash and precipitate action as would plunge into the horrors of revolution, anarchy and bankruptcy, the happiest people, the most prosperous country and the best Government the sun of heaven ever shed his genial rays upon.

To those, if any such there may be, who look upon disunion and a Southern confederacy as a thing desirable in itself, and are only waiting for an opportunity to accomplish that which had been previously resolved upon, the election of Lincoln may furnish a pretext for precipitating the Southern States into revolution. But to those who regard the Union under the Constitution as our fathers made it, the most precious legacy ever bequeathed to a free people by a patriotic ancestry, and are determined to maintain it as long as their rights and liberties, equality and honor are protected by it, the election of Mr. Lincoln, in my humble opinion, presents no just cause, no reasonable excuse, for disunion.

Having discussed all the questions at issue freely and elaborately in my addresses to the people during the recent canvass, I do not perceive that any patriotic objects can be advanced by any further public discussions on my part prior to resuming my seat in the Senate. That the passions and animosities engendered by recent contests may soon give place to reason and patriotism; that calm and wise counsels may prevail, and fraternal feeling be restored; that the Constitution may be preserved inviolate, and the Union maintained forever, is the ardent hope and fervent prayer of your friend and fellow citizen,

S. A. DOUGLAS.

New Orleans, Nov. 13, 1860.

SHALL VIRGINIA REMAIN IN THE UNION? CAN SHE HOPE FOR ANYTHING BUT VIOLENCE?—CAN SHE REPOSE CONFIDENCE IN ANY COMPROMISE WITH THE ABOLITION PARTY?

"We have petitioned—we have remonstrated.—Our petitions have been slighted—our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult. In vain, after those things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. *There is no longer any room for hope.*"—PATRICK HENRY.

Such was the language of a Virginia patriot, when Virginia was weak, and a mighty nation had broken faith with her; and yet while HENRY spoke for Virginia's independence lips were heard to call him traitor. They belonged to loyalists—imperial patriots; they loved King George better than the colony in which they lived; they would await an overt act, even while they heard their chains clanking on the plains of Boston,—they would still wait.

Such is the condition of Virginia again. She is not weak, but fifteen confederate States have broken faith with us; and yet, when patriots stand up for her deliverance federal patriots cry out, not yet; submit. Let us wait for an overt act, and change their motives to patriotism. Out upon such patriots! To what country do they owe allegiance? Certainly, to their State—their sovereign State.—And when aggressions are committed against it, either by the Federal Government or any of the States of the Union, the State claims their love and devotion; and when they go beyond her limits in their devotion to an outside government, they are false to her. Her people must "judge of the infraction."

It might be well for Virginia, while she deliberates between quietly submitting to abolition supremacy and resuming her rights as an independent nation, when she ceases to be an equal, to look into the growth of this abolition party, its character, its progress in government, and the tendency of its teachings in a Republic like ours.

In the early history of our government the distinction between free and slave States was unknown in the administration of its affairs. Slavery was recognized as an institution in all of the colonies.—The Northern climate, so inhospitable to the slave, increased the migration of European paupers, and consequently the reduction in the price of labor, addressed themselves so potently to the pockets of speculating philanthropists in the North, that their consciences at once awoke to all the horrors of slavery. In their noble charity they sold their slaves in the South, and abolished the institution forever. The class of persons who assumed the places of the slaves, carried along with them their half-formed European ideas of free society, indefinite, agrarian, and leveling. Being of the same color as their supporters, their spirit of social equality readily infused itself upward through these channels into the domestic and municipal economy of these philanthropists. In this soil of Northern life the great leveling and equalizing society found its birth, and it has only now culminated in that section, in destroying all distinction between races and color. As Mr. Lincoln, President elect, tritely says in his Chicago speech, "Let us discard all differences between this race and that race; the declaration of Independence holds all men equal." The cry of this new party was for innovation, regarding it as progress and progress as necessarily improvement.

The barrier which the institution of slavery had erected in the South before the progress of this blind fanaticism awoke in the mind of its supporters a spirit of jealousy. The servitude of the South was quiet and obedient. There was no senseless enthusiasm for ideal freedom. The abolitionists found it necessary to their success to break down and destroy this great bulwark against fanaticism and unbridled freedom.

At first their opposition was expressed in respectful language through petitions presented to Congress requesting the prohibition of slavery in Northern Territory. As their strength increased they required the prohibition of slavery in all our Territories; and then as the popular cry of freedom gathered into the ranks of this party, the greater part of the foreign emigration, they, with a respectable minority in Congress, demanded the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the Dock-Yards and Arsenals on Southern soil. The South made concession after concession to this spirit of aggression until she has most materially lessened her strength and power in the government, hoping at each new concession that the North would cease asking sacrifices at her hands. But they were not satisfied. The disposition to encroach increased as the generosity of the South conceded. At last they formed the monstrous scheme of forcing the extinction of slavery in the Southern States. To build up a party of sufficient strength to effect this great result, the leaders and journalists of the Abolition party have for the last ten years spent their time and money in expensiveness and exciting the worst feelings of the North against the South.—

They exhausted our vocabulary of its vilest epithets in traducing and abusing Southern people.—No language was found too foul to clothe some feeling of hatred towards you.

The villification of Southern men and Southern nations was injected into sermons, prayers, lectures, and into the bazaar of trade and commerce; everywhere, in everything, in men, women and children they infused sectional hatred.

It has ridden down every other subject,—all has given way before it. All the issues which have cursed free society since the formation of our government were welcomed into its ranks. The Spiritualist forgot to call back the restless souls of the dead while he gathored around him so many and such varied spirits of aggression. The Red Republican would realize all his hopes in its success.

The supporters of Women's Rights beheld in its teachings the future abolition of slavery and of the marital vows alike. The free lover was led to believe, from the past history of the party, that individual conscience would dictate its own laws of government.

The follower of Fourier beheld in its society a community of labor, of love, and of property. And the negro-philist congratulated in its success that day of jubilee when he should behold the degradation of the white race to the social level of the negro. Here, then, on the abolition platform, all these heterogeneous elements struck hands and announced themselves brothers in a common cause.—Here they raised their banner, on whose dark folds they emblazoned their war cry in letters of blood, "The irrepressible conflict." Here they named their chosen leader, Abraham Lincoln, one who has learned to hate everything that reminds him of his Southern birth, one whose first success must be the utter ruin and destruction of a great nation, one who has said that "this government cannot exist half free and half slave," who has said that "the opponents of slavery would place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction." This extract is taken from a Republican campaign document.—

You will observe that Mr. Lincoln does not undertake to consult the slave owner in placing slavery in "a course of ultimate extinction." He says the opponents of slavery will do it. Yes, they will do it in spite of you—now they have the power. Is not the conflict "irrepressible?" Is it not denounced against your property? Who must make the concession now? You! And you must make another concession next year, and year after year, until the conflict has ended by your final subjugation.

The free States of this confederacy have chosen this man as the true representative of their future policy. You have had elected to preside over the Federal Government, a man who breathes deadly hostility to an institution which is the very basis of your society, one who has nothing in common with you, one who was made President because he hated slavery as much as any abolitionist, because he would do all in his power to bring about its ultimate extinction, and finally, because the abolition party saw in this man the embodiment of the "irrepressible conflict." This is, in some degree, the

growth of the abolition party in supremacy, who propose to dictate the manner of your submission. Of its character you may judge from its elements of composition, in the abstract or in the concrete, a monster abhorrent to every feeling of a Southern man. Its progress in enlightened government we may well question when we see eleven of the free States controlled by this party, enacting laws directly in the face of the Constitution and federal law for the express purpose of preventing the execution of the latter, and the very men voting for these acts had upon their consciences the weight of an oath to support the Constitution and the laws of the United States. The tendency of the teachings of such a party must necessarily lessen the sanctity of the oath, and to make all law subject to the construction of individual consciences.

Now I ask you to take the past history of this party, to the subjugation of its strength, and see whether I have misrepresented them? I have lived among them—I live among them now—and see through them, the rapidly approaching degradation of the South.

All appointments in the South will be received by Mr. Lincoln's friends, not by yours, and you will find the "irrepressible conflict" existing in the bosom of every such appointment.

Thus he will place a spy and guard in every post-office, in every custom-house, and in every Federal Court-room in the South. How can you then, prepare to resist the "overt act" for which some would wait? You could not collect a dozen stand of arms, before the fact would be reported by hirelings to the President, and a federal force called to measure your resistance. He said they have the power to crush our resistance in its very bud—then there will be no hope—no promise.

No, no, my friends, that false security, which he who dreads to meet an issue draws about his heart, will mislead you. Misery, disgrace, and profound degradation, will follow fast upon your submission.

There is no honorable party with which you can compromise. All the past promises of this abolition party has been written in the sand.

Do not believe for a moment that this aggressive spirit will cease to oppress, injure, and degrade you. Their irrepressible hatred hurries them onward; the subjugation of a proud and chivalrous people is the end of this party. They have broken every promise, they have made to the South. Will you confide in their promise now when the patronage of the Federal Government is presented to them and the price is simply a lie? Will they refuse to give it? In the next two weeks they will throw sugar-plums to the South; bespatter them with adulation and praise. Will you not see the motive that underlies it all? Only fold your arms until they have the government in their hands and they will laugh at your credulity.

For fifty years you have paid tribute to the North. You have given her your manufactures, your merchandise, your trade, and the commerce of the waters; and she in return has stolen your negroes, passed laws to prevent their recapture; taught her children to believe that you were a set of barbarians; sent John Brown into Virginia to murder you—and then canonized his name; sent incendiaries into other sections of the South, to murder and destroy the people. What affectionate, what fond, what endearing love the North exhibits towards you!

How long, oh citizens of Virginia, will you bear these indignities? How long will you hold fellowship with a people who wrong you so grievously? How far can this government protect your property when you have your friends at the head off? How vain it is to expect protection when your avowed enemy controls it!

You entered the Union as an equal; you must now leave it, or consent to become an inferior. A thousand years will not root out the hatred instilled into the Northern heart against the South. Why not sever the ties of this accursed league, which entails loss upon you at all times? What can you lose by it? Do you fear that the Goths and Vandals of the North will come down upon you? Not one of them. When you have left them, their whole machinery of manufactures and commerce must cease,—your money built them up; business will stagnate, for you sustained it; and consequent thereon operatives will be thrown out of employment, and gaunt starvation will stalk through the streets in the North, wreaking a horrible but just retribution upon those who brought this suffering upon them. The North will be kept busy at home. You have no white servitude. You have great material wealth. You have harbors, you have a water power unsurpassed on the globe, you have resources untold. When you determine to be fed and clothed no longer by those who despise you, and take your place among the nations of the earth, manufactures will spring up, as if by magic, along your water courses; your commerce will cover your waters with vessels; every hill-side, every vale, and every mountain will shower wealth upon you. The vine-clad hills of Southern France will send her teeming thousands to garland the Southern slopes of the Alleghenies with the vine, and the great and noble old Dominion will strike out upon the world with every prospect of a glorious destiny.

RIENZI.

☞ We publish the following communication from an intelligent and valued friend now living in the Northwest with great pleasure.—No one but a patriot can breathe such sentiments as are contained in this communication:

Dec. 1, 1860—

Dear Senior:—The Rockingham men in the Northwest, always proud of the Register as the best country paper that comes among us,—and we see a good many,—are especially gratified at your course for the last few months. With singular unanimity, considering our antecedents, we have a second time voted the ticket you supported as presenting the only possibility of defeating a sectional party. In doing this we simply discharged our duty and we claim no credit and ask for no thanks.—But it is highly gratifying to us in our far off land, to learn through your columns that our course is appreciated by those whose welfare, next to our own we most have at heart. We have long been painfully anxious that there were elements at work in the cotton States that greatly enhanced the difficulty of maintaining our position here. But it was not until we found he had been reduced to a popular minority in this State, though we carried our Senator in 1858, that we began to surrender to the conclusion that the indiscretions of our Southern friends on the gulf were not attributable exclusively to "sudden heat," but were

the melancholy result of settled plans and purposes wholly at war with the perpetuity of a Union dearer than life to us, because it was the ligament by which we continued to be bound to our native South. Under the influence of this conviction we could not withhold our support from those leaders among us who determined upon open battle with all the enemies of the Republic wherever located. Although temporarily defeated we are by no means disheartened. We look with confidence for victory whenever the friends of the Union can be successfully combined, and we have the satisfaction to observe that while our unnatural enemies at the South are loudly threatening the heterogeneous destruction of all things, valuable or sacred, our friends at the North, who for outnumber them, stand bravely to their posts as little affected by the ingratitude of former allies as by the assaults of their regular opponents. We have done our duty, and though we are beaten we conceive we have rendered the country an important service.— We forced upon the Republicans the nomination of their most conservative man. We have driven them from many of their more dangerous positions, and we feel well assured that with a majority of a million against them in the Union, and only a margin of 800,000 in the States they have carried, they will not soon again disturb the peace of the country by any great outrage. Let Virginia present as brave and steady a front against all assaults from *within*, as we have and always will against all from without, and our children's children may yet be brethren in the same.

Yours, truly,

H. CHRISMAN.

The New-York Herald says: "According to the process by which the President is elected, Mr. Lincoln has more of it in getting a plurality of the Electoral College, *as true*—and that vote he obtains exclusively in the Northern States—but there is a majority of a million against him on the popular vote. He received a vote of some one million seven hundred and fifty thousand, while a vote of two millions seven hundred and fifty thousand was cast against him."

Rockingham Reg. & Ad.

12/21/1860

Proclaiming Lincoln's Union Policy

Following the election of President Lincoln and prior to his inauguration, The State Journal published a significant editorial which undoubtedly was inspired by the president-elect. It said:

"The Union cannot be dissolved by the passage of resolutions. South Carolina may resolve that she is no longer a part of this Union. She may hold secession meetings, mount disunion cockades, plant palmetto trees, make palmetto flags, trample under foot the glorious flag of our country and proclaim from the housetops her treason and her shame, but all this will not dissolve the Union.

"While this government endures there can be no dis-union. If South Carolina does not obstruct the collection of the revenue at her ports nor violate any other Federal law, there will be no trouble and she will not be out of the Union. If she violates the laws, then comes the tug of war. The President of the United States, in such an emergency, has a plain duty to perform. Buchanan may shirk it, or the emergency may not exist during his administration. If not, then the Union will last through his term of office.

"If the overt act on the part of South Carolina takes place on, or after the first of March, 1861, then the duty of executing the laws will devolve upon Mr. Lincoln. The laws of the United States must be executed—the President has no discretionary power on the subject—his duty is manifestly pronounced in the Constitution. Mr. Lincoln will perform that duty. Dis-union by armed force is treason and treason must and will be put down at all hazards."

THE PRESIDENT NOT TO BE PRAYED FOR
The Savannah News publishes the following:

ATLANTA, GA., Jan. 14.

To the Clergy of the Prot. Ep. Church in the Diocese of Georgia:

Dear Brethren—During the session of the Convention of the State of Georgia, you will use the enclosed form of prayer, to follow immediately after the prayer for Congress:

PRAYER.

Almighty and Eternal God, the Supreme Governor of all things, who sitteth on the Throne judging right, and whose power no creature is able to resist; be present, we humbly beseech thee, with the Supreme Council of our State, now assembled in thy fear and presence. Save them from all error, ignorance, pride and prejudice; endue them with wisdom, moderation and justice; direct and prosper all their consultations, and overrule all their decrees to thy glory, and the best interests of this Commonwealth. Let nothing be done of strife or vain-glory, but all things in thy fear, and under thy guidance. These supplications we present unto thee, not for our righteousness, but for thy great mercies, in Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

In the event of the secession of the State of Georgia from the Union, the clergy will suspend the use of the prayer entitled "A Prayer for Congress;" and in the prayer entitled "A Prayer for the President of the United States and all in Civil Authority," will omit the words, "thy servant, the President of the United States," and substitute in their places the words, "thy servant, the Governor of the State of Georgia."

In the event of the secession of the State of Georgia from the Union, the clergy will, upon the reassembling of the Legislature of the State, resume the prayer entitled "A Prayer for Congress," altering it so as to read, "most gracious God, we humbly beseech thee, as for the people of this State in general, so especially for their Senate and Representatives in Legislature assembled."

In the event of war, which God avert! the clergy will introduce into the service a prayer entitled "A Prayer in time of War and Tumults."

Given under my hand, this 14th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1861.

STEPHEN ELIOT.

Bishop of the Diocese of Georgia.

EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 6, 1861.

SECOND EDITION.

THE STATE OF THE NATION. There are unmistakable indications that the government is about to undertake some important movement. The nature of this project puzzles the quidnuncs, who cannot divine the purpose for which the federal authority appears to be gathering up its energies. The questions which curious people would like to have answered are these: Is Fort Sumter to be reinforced? Is Fort Pickens to be held against all assaults? Will the Southern Confederacy be permitted to absorb the revenues of the United States?

The President is in an anomalous position. Some definite policy toward the seceded States is demanded from all quarters; but the only policy that the President can adopt is to carry out the laws, as far as the powers lodged by law in his hands will permit. There is a question as to the extent of his powers, especially as regards the collection of the revenue in the Gulf States, and the circumstances of the case are such as to call for the exercise of a wise discretion even in pursuing a vigorous policy. The iron hand must be covered by a silken glove, and "coercion" itself have the air of "conciliation."

It would seem that the time is fast approaching when the Confederate States must either be coerced or recognized. They can only be efficiently coerced by a grant from Congress of new powers to the President. They can only be recognized as an independent government by a National Convention. The President certainly has no power or right to do what the Constitution never contemplated as possible. The feeling in favor of a National Convention seems to be steadily growing; and it is by no means certain that such a Convention would not result in "a more perfect union" of the States. It would at least inaugurate a definite policy. Even if it should result in recognizing the dismemberment of the country, there would still be an advantage in having the question settled by the people themselves.

BOSTON ADV

WAR TO BE DECLARED ON THE NORTH.

Mr. Douglas Promises to Support
the President.

Washington, 14th. Official advices from Montgomery state that the Confederate Congress will, on reassembling, immediately declare war against the United States.

It is believed that in the act declaring war a distinction will be made between alien friends and alien enemies, the former including the border States and such citizens of the North as oppose the coercive policy of the Administration. All obligations to this class are to be as much respected as though in time of peace.

Senator Douglas called upon the President to-night. They had an interesting conversation upon the condition of the country. The substance was, on the part of Mr. Douglas, that while he was unalterably opposed to the Administration on all its political issues, he was prepared to sustain the President in all his Constitutional functions to preserve the Union, and maintain the Government, and defend the Federal Capital, that a firm policy and prompt action was necessary; the capital of our country was in danger and must be defended at all hazards, at any expense of men and money. He spoke of the present and future, without reference to the past. Mr. Lincoln was very much gratified by the interview.

At a meeting of citizens it was determined to stand by the old flag at all hazards.

LOUISVILLE JOURNAL

GREEN STREET, BETWEEN THIRD AND FOURTH.

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SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1861.

THE PRINCIPLES AT STAKE.—We must take care, that, amidst the violent passions which this dreadful war nourishes, we do not lose sight of the real causes of it, nor permit the unscrupulous and constantly changing pretexts of the secessionists to obscure the perfectly vital principles for which the American people have taken up arms. Kentucky, above all, needs to do this; since she is liable, at any moment, to have the position she has taken rendered untenable by the mad conduct of Gov. Magoffin, by an invasion from Tennessee, or by the return in military array of the thousands of secessionists who have left the State to be armed and organized and whose return may be accompanied by the general revolt of the secessionists of the State. What then are the principles involved in the conflict, which justify us in the most determined adherence to them, at so great cost and risk,—which justify the American people in the immense preparations they are making to uphold them? In the *first* place: The Preservation of the Nation itself. Shall the nation be destroyed—be blotted out—be rent into many nations—all of them incapable of maintaining an existence as a first-rate power, in the face of the great nations of the earth? Shall our national unity, strength, and glory, be annihilated—and with them our national independence in the face of all nations be destroyed? Shall our glorious country sink down—divided, dishonored, reduced to ignoble and precarious dependence upon nations to whom we are now equal, and to whom it ought to be our destiny to give law, instead of receiving law from them? It is this first principle of all our

progress, our security, and our glory—that is put at the hazard of the defeat or the success of the disunion party. In the *second* place: Republican Liberty, as now enjoyed under our national and State constitutions; or, perhaps, we should rather say, all liberty, public and personal, in America. For nothing is more certain than that under the anarchy, which is the very life blood of the secession movement, personal liberty is wholly impossible; and that public liberty has a better chance for springing up and taking root under the worst government that ever professed to be guided by law, or even by custom, than to survive the cruel and lawless fanaticism, which, having possessed itself of power and cast off all restraint, leaves to mankind no escape but in a military despotism. But even if we could escape such a career and fate as that, after the triumph of the disunion party, by war; still, the entire fabric of our liberties would be destroyed, and all free political society as it has always existed in this country, and more especially as it has flourished under the Federal Constitution, would be thoroughly convulsed if not utterly annihilated. It is this second fundamental principle of all American liberty, public and personal, which now hangs in the balance of life or death—for the people of this country. In the *third* place: Security under law, and by law; security to life, security to person, security to property; security—the highest blessing of the highest civilization—without which neither independence nor liberty is possible. Who is secure in any secession State? What is secure in any one of them? What can be secure, where law is despised, where government is subverted, where anarchy is supreme, where brute force is the only form of administration, where unbridled passion is the sole rule of judgment, where the ruling powers abhor institutions in proportion as they are venerable, just, and glorious? These, oh! people of Kentucky! these are the sublime principles on which rests all that is precious in human society; every one of which must perish from amongst you, if the spirit of this disunion frenzy is triumphant over the land. National independence—public and personal liberty—security to property, to person, and to life; these are your birth-right; maintain them—uphold them—as you would save yourselves, at once, from ruin and from infamy. How much more to be desired is it, by a heroic people, to be glorified by all generations, as those who perished sword in hand, in such a cause; than to drag out a miserable servitude to brutal tyrants, after all worth living for is lost! That stern alternative—God be praised—is not yet forced upon you. You still have it in your power to continue both free and secure. But you must prove that you deserve to be both.

Secession is as naturally the offshoot of the many experiments in public measures which we have witnessed during the last twenty-five or thirty years as disease is of a disordered system. The framers of our institutions exhibited great practical wisdom and foresight in devising systems of policy calculated to give sufficiently healthy vigor to the operations of the government, and designed, at the same time, to advance the "general welfare," by giving proper and wholesome development to the varied industrial resources of the country. They considered themselves not only as acting for their own times, but as laying a permanent foundation upon which their children after them could build up a government which should be as durable as human institutions, and by whose light other nations and peoples might see the road to political freedom. So long as we continued to follow their example—to heed their patriotic and disinterested counsels—and to adhere to the principles which they had so wisely established, our prosperity as a nation was comparatively uninterrupted. We advanced, with a rapidity which startled the world, in everything which makes a people great and distinguished. Our commerce stretched itself out to every sea, and all the nations of the earth became familiar with the flag which protected it. An American citizen was proud of his country wherever he went, and the United States Government was recognized and welcomed as one of the great and leading governments of the world.

But as our fathers passed away to "that bourne from whence no traveller returns," another race of men sprang up—not statesmen of large and capacious and national views, but politicians, who acted alone for themselves and closed their eyes to the true glory of the nation. These men never looked beyond a single election, but devoted themselves solely to the work of having it so result that they would secure profit and aggrandizement to themselves and their friends. Their chief occupation was the construction of party *platforms*, and he who was the most ingenious manufacturer of these—who could make them the most effective in cheating the people out of votes—was esteemed the most valuable leader. They worked exclusively under a party flag, and held out to their adherents the rewards of office. "To the victors belong the spoils" was their motto, and they unblushingly avowed that no man was competent to hold an office or aid in administering the government who did not follow wherever it was necessary that they should lead. We had a few statesmen left amongst us, who, alarmed at the fearful strides of the country towards anarchy under the direction of these reckless adventurers, warned us of our danger. Our own great Commander of Kentucky stood at the head of this patriotic band, and, with a courage and boldness never surpassed in the world's history, threw himself before the advancing hosts, and endeavored to arrest them in their mad and headlong and ruinous career. The clarion tones of his voice were heard above the storm of party, and thousands of hearts were stirred with patriotic emotions at

his manly and majestic eloquence. But all his noble efforts in behalf of the country were without avail—altogether ineffectual to arrest the angry tide as it swept over the land. His unselfish patriotism was repaid with the most malignant and fiendish persecution. The basest and most infamous slanders—at the repetition of which their authors, now that he is out of their way, blush with shame—were heaped upon him without remorse. And the political schemers and tricksters had their way. They plunged forward in their inglorious career like coursers in the race, never stopping to look back, and never caring how much was placed at hazard by their furious madness. Of course they were ready to make all sorts of bargains to secure success—being utterly indifferent to the character or designs of the men they bargained with, so they profited by the operation. They worked for success, and, therefore, worked as well with dirty tools as clean ones—perhaps a little better. They displayed one most remarkable quality, which was that they could keep in their ranks men of the most diverse views—could weld together materials otherwise wholly incongruous. And with an army thus constituted, they went on, step by step, in their work of destruction—never stopping to pause or take breath till they had struck from the statute-book almost every one of the great measures which the fathers had consecrated by their wisdom. Finding these gone and the country becoming aroused with an indignation likely to overwhelm them with dismay, they introduced a new element of discord into American politics, and endeavored to make the *slavery question* the means of consolidating one section of the country against the other. And they have pursued the sectional strife they thus aroused, until, at last, in their desperation, they have begun an ignominious and traitorous war against the government of the Union. This is their last and most desperate experiment, and it is to be most devoutly hoped, that, when the authority of the government shall be re-established, we may hear no more of these desperate party hacks forever. It is the duty of every man, who has any regard for the peace and quiet and welfare of the country, to arouse himself to the necessities of the crisis into which these men have precipitated us—that the storm of rebellion may be hushed—the tide of revolution rolled back—the Constitution protected—the laws made effective and inviolate, and the Union fully restored to its original vigor and beauty. Then our nation may go on in an uninterrupted course of glory and greatness—the pride of every American heart and the admiration of the world. Then we shall truly be, what our fathers designed us to be, the great and leading nation of the earth—sending forth to every part of the world the invigorating influence of our civil and religious institutions.

At the request of
the Association
of the Friends of the
South

Lowell Journal July 20 1861

WASHINGTON.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29, 1861..

WHO ASKED FOR WAR?

We yesterday adverted to the political considerations which were pleaded by the authors of the secession movement, as also by their apologists, in justification of precipitating an attack upon Fort Sumter for the purpose of expelling from that stronghold the only remaining representatives of Federal authority in South Carolina, and, with the exception of the garrison in Fort Pickens, the only ones in all the Seceded States.

In order to place clearly before our readers the rationale on which the disunion leaders proceeded in thus determining to bring the conflict they had provoked with the Federal Government to a belligerent issue, we cite the following explicit statement, made in an elaborate editorial argument by the Richmond Enquirer, favoring the immediate *expulsion* of the Federal troops from the limits of the Seceded States, in order to prevent the possibility of a reconstruction of the Union under the operation of a peace policy, which was seen to be fatal to the ultimate success of the secession cause. That leading Southern journal, in its number of February 19th, nearly two months before the attack on Fort Sumter, held the following language:

"We entertain but little doubt that the attention and determination of President Davis has already been fixed upon the object of primary importance, and that the President has already well considered the necessary means for its adoption.

"Undoubtedly the first great object to be accomplished is the prompt expulsion of the hostile military forces by which the territory of the Confederate States is now invaded.

"In every aspect of the case, this measure is imperatively demanded. This continued invasion involves the most flagrant and injurious indignity to which the new Confederacy could possibly be subjected. So long as it is permitted the nations of Europe will continue to regard the Confederate States as rebels, engaged in a serious revolution indeed, but who have not yet secured a footing of independence sufficiently firm to warrant their recognition among the nations of the earth. So long as it is permitted the Northern people will continue to regard the secession of Southern States as a 'flash in the pan,' to credit the rumors now industriously circulated of the present formation of a prospective reactionary movement among the Southern people. Nay, even in the Border States of the South—even in Virginia, even in the Convention now assembled at Richmond—there is a large, possibly a controlling class of qualified submissionists; men who are content to wait and to suffer the full three years' term prescribed by Mr. Seward, in expectancy of a peaceable redress of grievances to be consummated at some indefinite period and to be accompanied by a restoration of the Union. These men tell us openly that we will not be forced to choose between a Northern and a Southern Confederacy; that if we shall only remain inactive for awhile our 'masterly inactivity' and the pressure of events, political, monetary, and commercial, will operate not only to prevent attempts of Fed-

eral coercion and restrain Northern aggression, but also to secure the voluntary and unconditional return to the Union of the Seceded States, and in confirmation of these views they point us to the fact that Federal troops are still permitted to occupy the forts and Federal postmasters to distribute the mails of the Confederate States. And they argue, with plausibility too, that these things are permitted by the State Governments because of a fear that the pressure incident to their removal may create an irresistible reaction in favor of Union, and even of submission on any terms, or without terms. *Yet, in the event of an actual conflict of arms, many of these men who argue thus would choose, and more of them would be driven, to take sides at once with their Southern brethren.*

"It is useless to mince the matter. The cry now made for a 'peaceable and honorable adjustment,' to be obtained by a 'masterly inactivity,' is an arrant imposture. We have two alternatives before us—only two—war or submission. And so long as the newly Confederate States shall refuse to submit, so long as they shall refuse submission disguised under the flimsy veil of compromise; so long as they shall hold this clandestine species of submission to be even more dishonorable than openly avowed submission, then we have no alternative. Then we must have war as the only, the inevitable means of ultimate adjustment in the Union or out of it; a war which must come speedily upon us, and in which, when it comes, the people of Virginia will be compelled to array themselves in arms, for or against the people of the Seceded States."

In further illustration of the desperate policy invoked for the end of preventing a peaceful restoration of the Union, we need but recall the remarks made in Charleston by the Hon. ROGER A. PRYOR, when, speaking on the eve of the attack upon Fort Sumter, he held the following language:

"As sure as to-morrow's sun will rise upon us, just so sure will Old Virginia be a member of the Southern Confederacy. [Applause.]

"And I will tell you, gentlemen, what will put her in the Southern Confederacy in less than an hour by Shrewsbury clock. *Strike a blow!* [Tremendous applause.]

"I do not mean to say any thing for effect upon military operations. I am but a poor civilian, who never set a squadron in the field—

"Nor the division of a battle note
More than a spinster."

"But I was speaking with respect to the political effects of revolution. *The very moment that blood is shed Old Virginia will make common cause with her sisters of the South. It is impossible she should do otherwise.* [Applause.]

"In conclusion, accept my word for it, the moment the conflict begins *Old Virginia will dispute with South Carolina the precedence in this great combat.*"

And it is from the men who taught these "bloody instructions" that we now hear edifying lectures on "the blessings of peace!" Would that they had always been the friends of peace! Then our distracted land might have been spared the bloodshed which they invoked rather than give over the hope of success in a revolution which they foresaw could not be made to stand on its own merits, or without any other support than that derived from the fierce passions of war.

THE SECESSION CONSPIRACY.—When Fernandina was deserted by the rebels a letter from Ex-Senator Yulee of Florida was found by our troops. It was dated at Washington, Jan. 7, 1861, and gave an account of the meeting on the previous evening of the Southern Senators, who adopted resolutions advising the immediate secession of their States. In this letter Mr. Yulee said :—

“The idea of the meeting was that the States should go out at once, and provide for the early organization of a Confederate Government, not later than the 15th of February. This time is allowed to enable Louisiana and Texas to participate. It seemed to be the opinion that if we left here free, loan and volunteer bills might be passed, which would put Mr. Lincoln in immediate condition for hostilities—whereas if by remaining in our places until the 4th of March, *it is thought we can keep the hands of Mr. Buchanan tied, and disable the Republicans from effecting any legislation which will strengthen the hands of the incoming Administration.*”

This letter further illustrates the cunning of the conspirators, who, as they supposed, had bound our government hand and foot when they precipitated their States into secession. They had lightly estimated the resources of the government, and the loyalty and patriotism of the people.—*Boston Journal.* *Weekly Free Press.*
5-21-62

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., Jan. 11.—To the Governor of Pennsylvania:—Free Missouri greets her oldest sister.

T. C. FLETCHER,
Governor of Missouri.

Gov. Curtin sent the following in reply:

To His Excellency T. C. Fletcher, Governor of Missouri, Jefferson City:—Pennsylvania, the first born of freedom, welcomes her disenthralled sister State of Missouri, redeemed in the agony of the nation, amid the throes of wanton rebellion. Her offering to liberty comes baptised in her richest blood, and will be accepted by a faithful and free people as one of the crowning tributes to her matchless heroism and sacrifices to preserve and perpetuate our common nationality.

(Signed)

A. G. CURTIN,

1862

A Welcome to Free Missouri.

AUGUSTA, Me., Jan. 13.—The Governor of Maine sends the following dispatch in reply to one received from Governor Fletcher, of Missouri, informing him that Missouri is a free State:

To the Governor of Missouri, Jefferson City.—Maine welcomes her twin sister, Missouri, to the blessings of free institutions after forty years wandering in the wilderness.

Signed.

SAMUEL CONY,
Governor of Maine.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

FORT EDWARDS, Neb.
After the rebellion broke out in South Carolina, and before the remaining slave States seceded, did President Lincoln address them to the effect that he intended to emancipate their slaves? If not, did he ever address them to that effect?

G. A. DOLZ.

Answer.—The Legislature of South Carolina passed unanimously the ordinance of secession Nov. 17, 1860 (McPherson's "History of the Rebellion"). On Dec. 20 the ordinance of secession was adopted without dissent by the convention that met at Charleston. Any one who will carefully read Vice President Wilson's "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," and then turn to John O. Fremont's memorable order in Missouri, will see at once where President Lincoln stood at that time. When South Carolina seceded, Abraham Lincoln was not the President of the United States, and did not become President until after the rebels had carried the Southern States, by hook or crook, over to the secession cause. We are not aware that he ever addressed South Carolina, even though that State was the first to attempt to disrupt the Union, to the effect that he intended to free their slaves, until the great Emancipation Proclamation was issued.

*The Water-Over
Curiosity Shop
1881*

The First Act of Secession

Passed 60 Years Ago Today

South Carolina Paved the Way for the Southern Confederacy by Declaring Itself an Independent Commonwealth and Assuming the Functions of a Sovereign Nation. The Act of Secession Formally Signed by Delegates as a "New Declaration of Independence."

Kas City Times 12-20-20

SIXTY years ago today the American republic was confronted with the supreme test of its endurance as a federal union—a test long deferred by diplomatic side-stepping and compromises—and the state which twenty-nine years before had been the first to openly defy the federal authority was then the first, by its official acts, to make the final challenge that precipitated the inevitable conflict. It was on that day, December 20, 1860, that South Carolina, through a convention assembled for that purpose, formally seceded from the union and undertook to set up on its own account a "free and independent sovereignty."

In the popular mind, the beginning of the Civil War is usually ascribed to the

—that the institution of slavery was doomed, that the period of compromises had passed, that the nation could no longer exist, "half free and half slave." On the very day of Lincoln's election the South Carolina legislature assembled at Columbia and joint resolutions of both Houses for a state convention to consider the withdrawal of the state were offered and debated. On November 12, the legislature passed the act authorizing the state convention. It cut out the work for the convention by declaring in resolutions that a "sovereign state of the union had a right to secede from it; that the states of the union are not subordinate to the national government, were not created by it, and do not belong to it; that they created the

firing on Fort Sumter—this did not occur until April 12, 1861. The gage of battle was really thrown down when South Carolina gave notice that it no longer recognized the federal union as a sovereign authority having power to control the several states. The seeds of all that followed from Sumter to Appomattox were in South Carolina's ordinance of secession. The action of South Carolina was followed in quick succession by that of six other states before the shot at Sumter was fired. Mississippi seceded January 9, 1861; Florida, January 10; Alabama, January 11; Georgia, January 19; Louisiana, January 26, and Texas, February 1. With the Southern states the nucleating motive found expression in the appeal, "whether they were going to stand by and see gallant little South Carolina crushed under the heel of despotism."

The action of South Carolina was deliberately taken. It was no sudden inflammatory outbreak. It was the final assertion of the doctrine of state sovereignty that had been its dominant political passion from the day it had entered the union. Both North and South knew what the election of Lincoln meant

national government, that from them it derives its powers; that to them it is responsible; and that when it abuses the trust reposed in it the states, as equal sovereigns, have a right to resume the powers respectively delegated to it by them."

This was the keynote of the convention campaign. As soon as the call for the convention had been published, the spellbinders went out bearing the fiery crosses of oratory across the country, calling the clans to muster to the cause of state sovereignty and to the defense of South Carolina "from the wrongs and outrages suffered at the hands of the Federal Union." On December 3, 1860, the election for delegates to the convention was held—there were none chosen that were not uncompromising secessionists. The convention met at Columbia on the 17th and adjourned to Charleston, on account of an epidemic of small-pox raging at Columbia. A committee was appointed to draft an ordinance of secession. On December 20, the committee reported a resolution which read as follows:

"We, the people of the state of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention assembled on the twenty-third day of May, in the year 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the general assembly of the state ratifying amendments of the said Constitution are hereby repealed, and the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of the United States of America is hereby dissolved."

This act of secession, reported at noon of December 20, was unanimously passed without debate. It was then proposed that all the delegates to the convention should march in solemn procession from St. Andrew's hall, their original place of meeting, to Institute hall, where the stage had been prepared for the ratification of the act by the state

officials and the public, and where each delegate, after the manner of their colonial forbears, was to affix his individual signature to the "new declaration of independence." As the delegates, 169 in number, marched through the streets of Charleston to Institute hall, they were greeted by the cheers of the people and chimes were rung from the church bells throughout the city. Reassembled in the hall of the institute each delegate solemnly affixed his signature to the secession document which had been engrossed on parchment and imprinted with the seal of the state. The historic scene and settings are thus described in Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History:

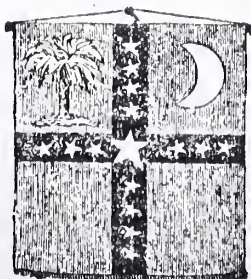
"The governor and his council and both branches of the legislature were present and the hall was densely crowded with men and women of Charleston. Back of the president's chair was suspended a banner composed of cotton cloth with devices painted in water colors by a Charleston artist named Alexander. The base of the design was a mass of broken and disordered blocks of stone on each of which were the name and arms of a free labor state. Rising from this mass were two columns of perfect and symmetrical blocks connected by an arch, on each of which, fifteen in number, were seen the name and arms of a slave labor state. South Carolina formed the keystone of the arch, on which stood a statue of Calhoun leaning upon the trunk of a palmetto tree and holding a scroll bearing the words, 'Truth, Justice and the Constitution.' Between the columns was a great palmetto tree with a rattlesnake coiled around its trunk and from each side fluttered a pennant on which were the words, 'Southern Republic.' Underneath all in large letters were the words, 'Built from the Ruins.'

"After the signature of every member of the convention had been affixed to the ordinance, the Venerable Rev. Dr. Bachman advanced to the front of the platform and uttered a petition to Almighty God for his blessing and favor

on the act. Then the president of the convention, David F. Jamison, stepped forward, read and exhibited the document to the people and said: 'The ordinance of secession has been signed and I proclaim the State of South Carolina an independent commonwealth.' This was received with a great shout of exultation. As soon as the proclamation was made all the civil officers holding places in the state under the federal government resigned."

The new government started in with all the outward forms and functions of an independent nation. It adopted a new flag, composed of red and blue silk, the former being the ground, the latter a cross with fifteen stars, with a big star for South Carolina in the center. In one corner was a white crescent moon and in the other a palmetto tree. The convention, on December 21, promptly appointed ambassadors—Robert W. Barnwell, James H. Adams and James L. Orr—to represent the "new sovereignty" at Washington and to treat with the federal government for the possession of the public property within the limits of their state and the surrender of the forts and arsenals within its jurisdiction.

This commission actually waited on President Buchanan, presented him with a copy of the act of secession and demanded the immediate withdrawal of all troops from Charleston Harbor as a "standing menace" to their sovereignty. The vacillating Buchanan temporized with them and "passed the buck" to congress. Then came the inauguration of Lincoln, with its new national note that sounded the doom of the incipient confederacy: "I consider," he said in his inaugural address, "that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be

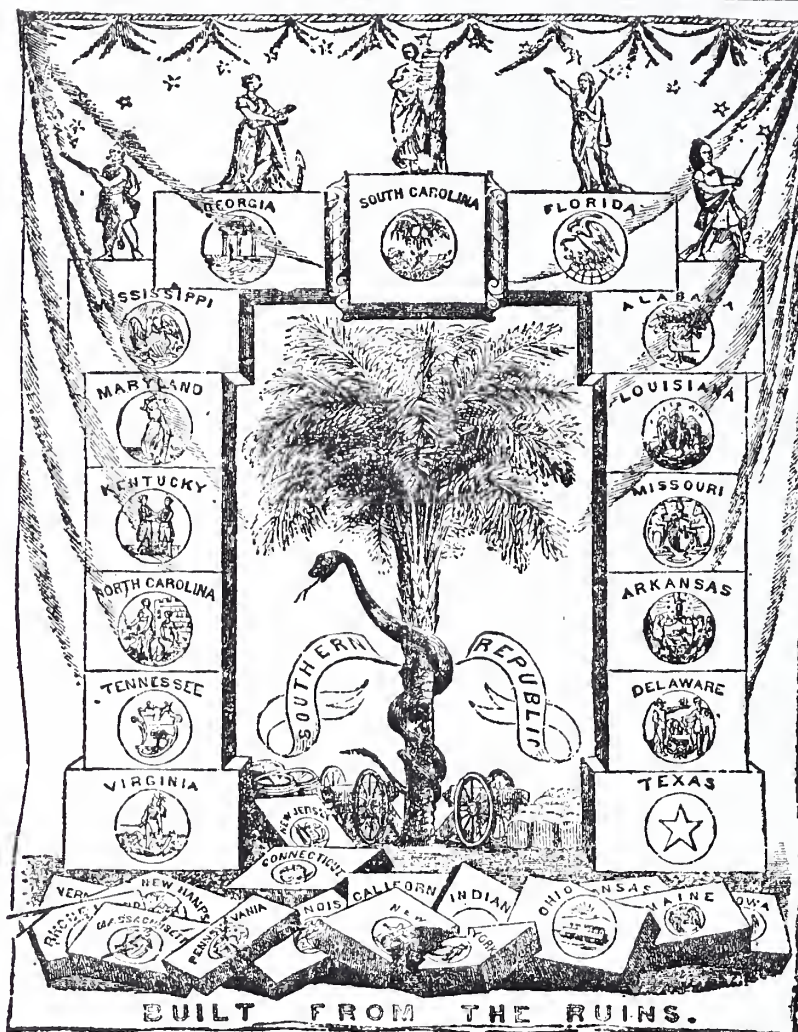


SOUTH CAROLINA FLAG.

faithfully executed in all the states. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary." It closed with this eloquent appeal to the seceding states:

"In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it. * * * We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

But the appeal fell upon unheeding ears. The attack upon Sumter followed and there were long and bloody years before the better angels touched again the cords that awoke the chorus of a reunited nation.



THE BANNER OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA SECESSION CONVENTION. (FROM WOODCUT IN HARPER'S ENCYCLOPEDIA OF U. S. HISTORY.)

—President Buchanan's Disunion Message

1521



CONGRESS met on the first Monday of December and received from President Buchanan his mischievous and deplorable message. * * * a message whose evil effect can hardly be exaggerated. The President informed Congress that "the long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern states has at last produced its natural effect." * * * The President found that the chief grievance of the South was in the enactments of the Free States known as "personal liberty laws" (designed to protect free citizens, black or white, in their right to trial by jury, which the fugitive slave law denied to a black man claimed as a slave) * * * Very likely these enactments, inspired by an earnest spirit of liberty, went in many cases too far, and tended to produce conflicts between national and state authority. That was a question to be determined finally and exclusively by the Federal judiciary. Unfortunately Mr. Buchanan carried his argument beyond that point. * * *

After reciting the statutes which he regarded as objectionable and hostile to the constitutional rights of the South, and after urging their unconditional repeal upon the North, the President said: "The Southern states, standing on the basis of the Constitution, have a right to demand this act of justice from the states of the North. Should it be refused, then the Constitution, to which all the states are parties, will have been wilfully violated. * * * In that event, the injured states, after having used all peaceful and constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the government of the Union." By this declaration the President justified, and in effect advised, an appeal from the constitutional tribunals of the

country to a popular judgment in the aggrieved states, and recognized the right of those states, upon such popular judgment, to destroy the Constitution and the Union. * * * Mr. Buchanan proceeded to argue ably and earnestly against the assumption by any state of an inherent right to secede from the government at its own will and pleasure. But he utterly destroyed the force of his reasoning by declaring that "after much serious reflection" he had arrived at "the conclusion that no power has been delegated to Congress, or to any other department of the Federal government, to coerce a state into submission which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn," from the Union. * * *

Under these doctrines the government of the United States, was shorn of all power to preserve its own existence, and the Union might crumble and fall while its constituted authorities stood paralyzed and impotent. This construction was all that the extremists of the South desired. With so much conceded, they had everything in their own hands. * * * Men who, under the wholesome restraint of executive power, would have refrained from taking aggressive steps against the national government, were by Mr. Buchanan's action forced into a position of hostility. Men in the South, who were disposed to avoid extreme measures, were by taunt and reproach driven into the ranks of secession. * * * The evil effects of Mr. Buchanan's message were not confined to the slave states. It did incalculable harm in the free states. It fixed in the minds of tens of thousands of Northern men who were opposed to the Republican party, the belief that the South was justified in taking steps to break up the government, if what they termed a war on Southern institutions should be continued. This feeling had in turn a most injurious influence in the South.

—JAMES G. BLAINE, TWENTY YEARS IN CONGRESS.

Journal Revealed Stand On Disunion In Strong Words

Ill. St. Journal 7/30/36
While Lincoln, after his election in 1860, refused to define his attitude toward secession, the Illinois State Journal, with which he had always been intimately connected, lost no time in revealing its stand. Editor E. L. Baker, who was a cousin by marriage of Mrs. Lincoln, in a strong editorial reprinted the country over, announced:

"Disunion, by armed force, is treason, and treason must and will be put down at all hazards. The union is not, will not, and cannot be dissolved until this government is overthrown by the traitors who have raised the disunion flag. Can they overthrow it? We think not. They may disturb its peace—they may interrupt the course of its prosperity—they may cloud its reputation for

stability—but its tranquillity will be restored, its prosperity will return, and the strain upon its national character will be transferred and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who caused the disorder."

"Let the secessionists understand it—let the press proclaim it—let it fly on the wings of the lightning and fall like a thunderbolt on those now plotting treason in convention, that the Republican party, that the great North, aided by hundreds of thousands of patriotic men in the slave states, have determined to preserve the union—peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must!"

Ravenel Agency, Inc.

Publishers of Rare Documents

Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. McHenry,

With your appreciation of history, we know you will find this message of unusual interest.

The year of 1860 Was One of Momentous Decisions!

The initial move to dissolve the Union of the United States of America was made on December 20th in that year when the first Ordinance of Secession was signed here in Charleston, South Carolina.

To commemorate the 100th anniversary of this action, and as a timely contribution to the Civil War Centennial (1961-65), we have reproduced this rare document on handsome parchment paper. One of these authentic copies will be a unique and valued possession for any home, library or collection, and will make an interesting and appropriate gift.

The enclosed brochure describes the South Caroline Ordinance and lists the names of the signers. As this First Centennial Edition is limited we shall welcome your order.

Sincerely,
Daniel Ravenel

*An Ordinance To dissolve the Union
between the State of South Carolina and
other States united with her under the
compact entitled "The Constitution
of the United States of America."
We, the People of the State of South Carolina*

THE ORDINANCE OF
SECESSION FROM THE UNION
OF THE
STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA
SIGNED IN CHARLESTON
DECEMBER 20, 1860

First Centennial Edition

Authentic Copy of the Original Ordinance
Reproduced to commemorate
The Centennial and the 171 Distinguished
Southern Patriots Who Created and Signed
This Document which gave Birth to the
Confederate States of America

171 SIGNERS OF THE ORDINANCE

AS THEIR SIGNATURES APPEAR ON THE DOCUMENT

ADAMS, James H.	3-23	FINLEY, W. Peroneau	1-15
ALLISON, Robt. T.	5-33	FLUD, Daniel	3-32
APPLEBY, David C.	3-33	FORSTER, Alex M.	5-31
ARTHUR, Benj. F. (Clerk of Conv.)	1-34	FOSTER, B. B.	5-12
ATKINSON, Samuel Taylor	5-30	FRAMPTON, John E.	3-19
AYER, Lewis Malone, Jr.	1-14	FURMAN, James C.	2-12
BARNWELL, R. W.	4-1	GADBERRY, J. M.	5-21
BARRON, A. I.	5-36	GARLINGTON, H. W.	2-26
BARTON, Donald Rowe	3-13	GEIGER, Jno. C.	2-31
BEATY, Thos. W.	2-20	GIST, Wm. H.	5-23
BELLINGER, E. S. P.	3-28	GLOVER, Thos. Worth	3-11
BETHEA, A. W.	3-3	GOODWIN, E. W.	3-4
BOBO, Simpson	5-15	GOURDIN, Robert N.	4-21
BONNEAU, Peter P.	1-26	GOURDIN, T. L.	5-7
BRABHAM, J. J.	1-16	GREEN, H. D.	5-17
BROWN, Alex H.	3-27	GREGG, Maxcy	3-24
BROWN, C. P.	4-3	GREGG, William	2-4
BUCHANAN, John	2-11	GRISHAM, Wm. S.	3-17
BURNET, A. W.	4-32	HAMMOND, Andrew J.	2-5
CAIN, William	4-7	HANCKEL, Tho. M.	4-31
CALDWELL, Joseph	3-9	HARLEE, Wm. W.	3-2
CALHOUN, John Alfred	1-6	HARRISON, James	2-15
CAMPBELL, W. H.	2-16	HAYNE, Isaac W.	4-28
CARLISLE, Jas. H.	5-14	HENDERSON, E. R.	3-30
CARN, Merrick E.	3-29	HONOUR, John H.	4-29
CARROLL, James Parsons	2-3	HOPKINS, William	3-22
CAUGHMAN, H. I.	2-30	HUNTER, William	3-14
CAUTHEN, Wm. C.	2-23	HUTSON, W. Ferguson	3-20
CHARLES, Edgar W.	1-30	INGLIS, John A.	1-22
CHESNUT, James, Jr.	2-18	INGRAM, John I.	1-29
CHEVES, Langdon	4-16	JACKSON, Stephen	1-24
CLARK, Ephraim M.	3-26	JAMISON, D. F. (Pres. of Conv.)	
CONNER, Henry W.	4-22	JEFFERIES, James	5-24
CRAWFORD, R. L.	2-22	JENKINS, John	4-10
CURTIS, Wm.	5-16	JENKINS, Jos. E.	4-15
DARBY, Artemas T.	4-34	JOHNSON, Wm. D.	3-5
DARGAN, Julius A.	1-31	KEITT, Lawrence M.	3-12
DAVANT, R. J.	4-11	KERSHAW, Jos. Brevard	2-19
DAVIS, Henry Campbell	2-10	KILGORE, Benj. F.	5-13
DeSAUSSURE, Wm. F.	3-21	KINARD, John P.	3-7
DeTREVILLE, Richard	4-30	KINSLER, John H.	3-25
DOZIER, Anthony W.	5-25	LANDRUM, Jno. G.	5-11
DUNCAN, P. E.	2-13	LAWTON, Benj. W.	1-17
DUNKIN, Benj. Faneuil	5-29	LEWIS, Andrew F.	3-15
DUNOVANT, A. Q.	1-21	LOGAN, R. C.	5-27
DUNOVANT, R. G. M.	2-2	LYLES, William Strother	2-9
DUPRE, Daniel	4-5	MAGRATH, A. G.	4-18
EASLEY, W. K.	2-14	MANIGAULT, Gabriel	4-26
ELLIS, Wm. J.	2-21	MANNING, John L.	1-28
ENGLISH, Thos. Reese, Sr.	5-19	MAULDIN, Benj. Franklin	1-13
EVANS, Chesley D.	3-1	MAXWELL, John	3-18
FAIR, Simeon	3-10	MAYES, Matthew P.	5-18

MAZYCK, A.	4-6	SEABROOK, G. W.	4-9
McCRADY, Edward	5-5	SESSIONS, Benj. E.	1-8
McIVER, Henry	1-23	SHINGLER, John M.	4-4
McKEE, John	1-18	SHINGLER, W. Pinkney	1-25
McLEOD, Alex	3-6	SIMONS, Thos. Y.	4-33
MEANS, John Hugh	2-8	SIMPSON, R. F.	1-12
MEMMINGER, C. G.	4-25	SIMS, J. S.	5-22
MIDDLETON, John Izard	1-7	SMITH, John Julius Pringle	4-27
MIDDLETON, Williams	5-2	SMYLY, James C.	2-7
MILES, Wm. Porcher	4-19	SNOWDEN, P. G.	4-8
MOORE, Thos. W.	1-19	SPAIN, Albertus Chambers	5-20
MOORMAN, Robert	3-8	SPRATT, L. W.	5-1
NOBLE, Edward	1-2	SPRINGS, A. Baxter	5-35
NOWELL, Jno. L.	5-9	STOKES, Peter	3-31
O'HEAR, John S.	5-10	THOMPSON, Robt. A.	3-16
ORR, James L.	1-10	THOMSON, Thomas	1-4
PALMER, Jno. S.	5-8	TIMMONS, John M.	1-33
PARKER, Francis S.	5-28	TOMPKINS, James	2-6
PERRIN, Thomas Chiles	1-1	TOWNSEND, John	4-20
POPE, Jos. Daniel	4-2	WAGNER, Theodore D.	4-23
PORCHER, Francis J.	5-6	WANNAMAKER, John J.	4-13
PRESSLEY, John G.	5-26	WARDLAW, David Lewis	1-5
QUATTLEBAUM, Paul	2-32	WARDLAW, Francis Hugh	2-1
RAINEY, Saml.	5-34	WATTS, W. D.	2-28
REED, J. P.	1-11	WHITNER, J. N.	1-9
RHETT, R. Barnwell	4-24	WIER, Thos.	2-29
RHODES, George	4-17	WILLIAMS, John D.	2-27
RICHARDSON, F. D.	5-3	WILSON, Isaac D.	1-32
RICHARDSON, John P.	1-27	WILSON, J. H.	1-3
ROBINSON, D. P.	2-24	WILSON, Wm. Blackburn	5-32
ROWELL, W. B.	2-33	WITHERS, T. J.	2-17
RUTLEDGE, B. H.	5-4	WOODS, Richard	1-20
SCOTT, Elias B.	4-14	YOUNG, H. C.	2-25
SEABROOK, E. M.	4-12		

The Ordinance of Secession is a remarkably concise and clear expression of the decision of South Carolina to secede, and is written by hand in the excellent penmanship of the period. It is believed that each of the 171 signers used his own pen to write his signature, some leaving accidental ink spots on the document.

Note: The names printed above are the exact signatures appearing in five columns on the Ordinance, each has a locator number indicating for your convenience the column and the line. For instance Adams, James H. will be found in column 3 and line 23.

The complete names and their biographical sketches may be found in the book *South Carolina Secedes* being published by the South Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, State House, Columbia, S. C.

THE ORDINANCE

OR

"The Scroll of Treason"

THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION of the State of South Carolina, called the "Scroll of Treason" by the Northern press, was in fact, "Articles of Peace"!

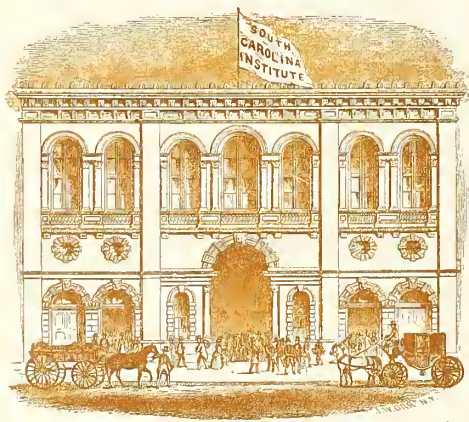
South Carolinians, historically famed for their refusal to bow to inequities and outside political pressures, discovered by 1860 that many of their non-Southern neighbors were determined to inflict punitive legislation on Southern areas which dared to disagree with their political philosophies. When it became obvious to South Carolina statesmen that the pressure had grown beyond all reason, a state convention was called to examine this desperate situation.

After two sessions the Convention decided that, rather than attempt to fight a fire already out of control, it would be saner to simply and quietly secede from a union which permitted minority groups to rule. In addition Lincoln, an unknown quantity in both North and South, had just won the presidency.

The Secession Convention first met in the First Baptist Church in Columbia, the State Capital, on December 17, 1860, but because of a report of smallpox, was adjourned to Charleston. So, on December 20, 1860, 171 serious-minded, courageous South Carolinians . . . businessmen, clergymen, planters, doctors and lawyers . . . met in Charleston in the S. C. Institute Hall on Meeting street and affixed their names to this historic document. In so doing they were well aware of the duties and responsibilities they were taking. The results of the tragic conflict, which they had hoped this action would have avoided, proved their gravest fears well founded. Most of the signers of **THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION** lost their property, their fortunes, loved ones . . . even their lives. Just five days before Christmas, 1860, these 171 patriots literally gambled everything for an ideal in which they were desperately sincere.

The descendants of these dedicated Southern patriots . . . and people everywhere who admire men of strong convictions . . . will be justly proud to own one of these documents, authentically reproduced on parchment. Today, more than ever in our history, it is well to be reminded that great men have been strong men with deep convictions AND the courage to stand up and be counted . . . men willing to risk their very lives for their beliefs.

The First Centennial Edition of this historic document is now available. It has been lithographed on handsome parchment paper suitable for framing. The size of our document is 19 by 24 inches.



HALL—Where the Ordinance of Secession was Signed on 20th, December 1860
The Hall was burnt in the fire of 11th, December 1861

Ravenel Agency, Inc.

Publishers of Rare Documents

Charleston, South Carolina



Lincoln Lore

October, 1976

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1664

The Troublesome Border States: Two Previously Unpublished Lincoln Documents

The Lincoln Library and Museum is proud to announce the acquisition of two previously unpublished endorsements by Abraham Lincoln. Both concern Border States, and together they suggest a policy pursued by the Lincoln administration

in the first year of the Civil War. Both letters of recommendation were written on the same day, but Lincoln acted on them at different times.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 1. This strongly worded piece of 1864 campaign literature exaggerated the success of Northern armies in the war by exaggerating the amount of "Territory held by the Rebels when they fired on SUMTER." All of the gray and black areas allegedly belonged to the Confederates in 1861. The map serves well to indicate the importance of the larger Border States and documents the common assumption, North and South, that the Border States were more Southern than Northern in spirit.

The Letters

House of Rep.
Jany 9. 1861. [1862]

To the President of the U. S.

Dr Sir

Maj Wallen of the U. States Army has seen much service. He is a Southern man, by birth and has faithfully adhered to his allegiance amid the treason of his Southern associates of the army & I hope his fidelity may be rewarded, by honorable promotion. We have but few *Southern Born men* in the service,

Very resply your frined [sic]
C A Wickliff

I sincerely wish Major Wallen could be relieved from going to New-Mexico—

A. Lincoln

Jan. 20. 1862.

House of Representatives.
Washington City Jan'y 9th 1862.

To His Excellency

A. Lincoln, President U. S.

Sir,

Permit us to recommend to you for appointment, as a Major in one of the new Regiments of the Regular Army, Major Thomas E Noell of Missouri. We desire to say in reference to Major Noell, that he is a gentleman of the highest order of talent, with a liberal Education, and an unspotted character. Before the commencement of our present troubles, Major Noell, was engaged in the successful practice of the law, enjoying the confidence of the Courts, the Bar, and the whole community. Early in September, he enlisted as a private in the first Volunteer company, raised in South East Missouri, was made a first Lieutenant, and when enough Union State troops, were raised for a Battalion, he was unanimously chosen by the officers as Major, in which capacity he has served ever since. He has been in Camp with his men the whole time, acquired proficiency in the drill and by his energy skill and courage, has protected seven or eight counties, from the lawless depredations of the Secession hordes, of the Swamp region. We feel that Missouri is entitled to a respectable appointment, in the New Regiments of the Regular Army, and in Major Noell a Native born citizen of Missouri, we feel that we should be so represented, that our State would be honored, and the public service greatly promoted.

We confidently hope that our application for his appointment will be promptly granted.—

We remain Most Respectfully

Your Ob't Sev'ts

James S. Rollins

E. H. Norton

Thos. L. Price

R Wilson

Wm A Hall

Jno W Noell

J. H. Henderson

I have a personal acquaintance with Major Noel [1] and am confident that if he should receive an appointment in the army he will not only serve the country well but will distinguish himself in the service

H. R. Gamble
Gov. of Mo

Washington

Jan 27. 1862

Respectfully submitted to the War Department, with the remark that, while I know not if there be a vacant Majority, I shall be quite willing the applicant within recommended shall have it, especially as it is said Missouri has had no appointments in the new Regular Army.

A. Lincoln

Feb. 1, 1862.

[Docketing in another hand]

Major Thos E. Noell

Missouri

Major U. S. A.

Recommended by

The President

Hon F. P. Blair

"Jas. S. Rollins

Gov H. R. Gamble

1 Enclosure

Lincoln and the Border States

"I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game," wrote President Lincoln to Orville Hickman Browning on September 22, 1861. "Kentucky gone," he continued, "we can not hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this captiol."

As James A. Rawley has argued, these were not the sentimental musings of a son of the Border. There were hard population and geographical facts to back them up. The white population of the eleven Confederate states was 5,451,000. Kentucky's white population was 919,484; Missouri's was 1,063,489; and Maryland had 515,918 white inhabitants. The total for these three Border States alone was 2,498,891, or just under half the total population of the Confederacy. Despite a tremendous population differential between North and South (about 22 1/2 million to 5 1/2 million or to 8 3/4 million counting slaves), the South held on for four years and came close to European recognition, stalemate, and independence. With the differential at 20 million to 10 1/4 million (counting slaves), the results might have been very different. In fact, that 2:1 ratio is reminiscent of the old saw about population in America's *successful* revolution of 1776, in which a third of the population, estimated to be actively interested in the patriot cause, won independence for the whole nation from Britain.

Geographically, Kentucky was of great strategic importance. With the Ohio River as a northern boundary, the Confederacy would have had a "natural military frontier" from the Atlantic to the Missouri River. A Confederate Missouri would have made control of the Mississippi River, a key aspect of Northern strategy, much more difficult. Kentucky's sentimental influence was significant as well. Missouri had 100,000 citizens born in Kentucky; Illinois had 60,000 (including the President of the United States); Indiana had 68,000; Ohio had 15,000; and Iowa had 13,000.

Lincoln's policies towards Kentucky have been much studied and written about. He followed a policy of appointing loyal men to governmental positions in Kentucky, whether they were Republicans or not and whether they held slaves or not (most often they were not Republicans, for Kentucky's Republican party was tiny and feeble). For a brief period, he blinked at Kentucky's announced policy of neutrality which was surely as illegal as secession. He supplied arms to Union men in Kentucky secretly, and he avoided coercion of the state until the Confederates invaded it, thus placing the onus of firing the first shot in Kentucky on the Confederacy rather than the Union. This gave the North a great psychological advantage.

As Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin point out in *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), much of the Lincoln administration's Kentucky patronage involved military commissions. They argue that he took care to fill the officerships with good Union men, but that

he tried to fill military appointments in Kentucky with men who had some connection with the state, that is, men who were Kentucky residents or who had been born in Kentucky. They could have added that he tried to cement Kentucky to the Union cause by making military appointments recommended by influential Kentuckians.

The point of C. A. Wickliffe's letter of recommendation for Major Wallen was that Lincoln must appoint Southern-born men to the United States Army, rather than that Kentucky must have only Southern-born officers operating within its borders. By 1862, then, Border State policy included efforts to tie their loyalties to the Union, not by leaving them alone, but by giving their region appointments in the United States Army.

Henry D. Wallen was not apparently a Kentuckian, however. When his son was appointed to West Point in 1862, he was listed as a Georgian. Wallen was a Regular Army captain when the war began and was serving on the Pacific coast. In the autumn of 1861, he was promoted to Major of the Seventh Infantry, but he had friends in high places and, as soon as he received his promotion, these friends were urging further promotion — to Inspector General or Brigadier General. President Lincoln wrote a memorandum as early as December 4, 1861, reminding himself that Wallen was being pushed for higher rank. On January 18, 1862, Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, Senator Henry S. Lane of Indiana, Senator John P. Hale of Maine, and Senator James W. Nesmith of Oregon called on President Lincoln, begging him not to send Major Wallen to New Mexico. Lincoln then wrote a strongly worded recommendation to Secretary of War Stanton that he not be sent. Two days later, Lincoln endorsed Congressman Wickliffe's request on Wallen's behalf. On the same day that the Senators called on Major Wallen's behalf, Lincoln ordered "it to [be] definitely settled" that Henry D. Wallen, Jr., presumably the Major's son, be one of the ten at-large appointments to become a cadet at West Point. This request was obeyed, and young Wallen entered the United States Military Academy that year.

Major Wallen did not fare as well. He served for two years in New Mexico, fighting Indians and Confederate sympathizers in that far-off and rather inglorious sideshow to the great Civil War. Lincoln's wishes could be overridden. But the administration's "Southern strategy" was at work. Of the ten at-large appointments to West Point, four came from slave states.

Charles A. Wickliffe's influence with the administration would fade. Wickliffe (he spelled his name with an "e," but he went blind late in his life, and the approach of this condition may account for the bizarre spelling and handwriting in his letter) was born in Kentucky in 1788. He had served in Congress practically forty years before Lincoln received his recommendation for Major Wallen. He had been a Whig and served in John Tyler's Cabinet. During the Civil War, Wickliffe, a Union-loving moderate, became a leader of Unionist sentiment in Bowling Green, Kentucky. Joshua F. Speed recommended Wickliffe in May of 1861, as a safe recipient of the arms that were being distributed secretly in Kentucky to Union men. In the first year of the war, then, he was grouped with the likes of the Speed family, James Harlan, and Garrett Davis as a loyal bulwark in a shaky and doubtful state.

Loyalty to the Union "as it was" was as far as Wickliffe's loyalty extended, however. When President Lincoln began in the spring of 1862 to urge the Border States to adopt a plan of emancipation within their borders, he raised constitutional objections. By 1863, he was so alienated from the measures of the Lincoln administration that he became the nominee for Governor of Kentucky on the Peace Democratic platform,

which decried the Federal government's usurpations of Kentucky's constitutional liberties. In a rare letter to his wife, President Lincoln commented on Wickliffe's loss of the election to Unionist Democrat Thomas Bramlette: "Old Mr. Wickliffe got ugly, as you know, ran for Governor, and is terribly beaten."

Wickliffe's career is proof of the wisdom of Lincoln's Border State policies. In the early months of the war, the President cooperated with even Democrats like Wickliffe as long as they sought to keep the Union together. Once Kentucky was safely in the Union fold, the inertia of constitutional boundaries and legalities kept her on the North's side despite the extreme unpopularity of emancipation within this slave-holding state. If a few strong-willed and independent old men like Wickliffe refused to change their principles, the state did not waver, and Wickliffe lost in a landslide. Had the Lincoln administration followed a policy of tampering with slavery from the start of the war, Kentucky, as Holman Hamilton has argued, would doubtless have seceded with Virginia and the rest of the upper South.

Two of the new appointments to the Military Academy hailed from Missouri, and the administration favored candidates for office championed by men from this Border State as well. Reinhard Luthin and Harry Carman argue that Missouri was firmly in the Union bag by August of 1861, and that Lincoln's patronage worries in that state thereafter stemmed from an enormous feud between conservative politicians of the Edward Bates, Francis P. Blair, and Hamilton R. Gamble stripe and more liberal politicians like John C. Frémont and B. Gratz Brown.

The Lincoln administration, as much by accident as anything else, was firmly the captive of the conservative faction. Edward Bates, who had been one of Lincoln's rivals for the Presidential nomination, became a Cabinet member, as did Lincoln's other major rival William H. Seward. Hamilton R. Gamble, the Governor of Missouri, was Bates's brother-in-law. Lincoln's Postmaster General was Montgomery Blair, who deserved inclusion in the first Republican President's Cabinet because of his important contributions to the founding of the party and because the Blair family in general represented the interests of Democrats who became Republicans. Francis P. Blair, Jr., was Montgomery's brother. Through his Cabinet, then, Lincoln had close ties to the one faction in Missouri. The other faction, identified for a time with the career and charisma of John C. Frémont, represented a rival Republican interest in the Presidency which Lincoln never succeeded in conciliating. Indeed, the only reason Frémont had a command in Missouri was that he had once been thick with the Blairs, and they persuaded Lincoln to appoint him. Later, Missouri proved to be too small for the ambitions of both Francis Blair and Frémont, and the two became bitter factional rivals.

Major Thomas E. Noell's name came before Lincoln with impeccable factional credentials. Hamilton R. Gamble and Francis Blair were leaders of the faction, as was Congressman James S. Rollins. More important than Noell's factional identification at this juncture in the war, at least from President Lincoln's point of view as opposed to that of the politicians within Missouri, was the simple fact that he came well recommended by a Border State delegation. This seems to have been persuasive, for on April 1, 1862, Thomas E. Noell became a captain in the Nineteenth Infantry, United States Army.

Thomas E. Noell was being recommended for promotion by his own father, John Noell, who was a member of the Missouri delegation in the House of Representatives. John Noell died in Washington in 1863, before his term ended. In 1864, his



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 2. Francis P. Blair, Jr.

son resigned his commission and ran successfully for his father's former seat. Thomas Noell won reelection and, like his father, died in office.

Doubtless the word was out in Washington that a way to gain an appointment from the Lincoln administration was to represent a slave-state interest that could perhaps be won to the Union side. Lincoln noted in the case of Noell that the appointment was of special merit if it were true that there were no Missouri men in the new units of the Regular Army. Major Wallen, on the other hand, had influential friends all over the Union, but it is interesting to note that his friends followed up their pleas for saving his career from the obscurity of the New Mexico theater of war by having Kentuckian Charles Wickliffe urge the Major's cause on the ground that there were too few Southern-born men in the Army.

The story of the Border States always serves to impress us with the speed with which political events in the Civil War moved. Although it is fashionable to think that a policy of emancipation was arrived at at a snail's pace, the view from the Border suggest quite the opposite. One must keep in mind that slavery was an institution over two centuries old in a country than was fifteen years short of one century old. The United States was no nearer abolishing slavery on April 13, 1861, than it had been one, two, or three decades before. In fact, the chances of doing away with the peculiar institution without war were far slimmer in 1861 than in the first fifty years after the American Revolution. As Lincoln figured out and said repeatedly, as far as slavery was concerned there had been no progress, only decline, from the conditions of the early days of the republic. Recent studies of the economic health of the slave economy indicate that it was thriving, and its racial purpose never changed.

To look at the Civil War through a Kentucky prism is to see

events fairly hurtling past. If the Kentucky legislature had been sitting on April 14, when Sumter was fired upon, she might well have left the Union with the other four Southern states which did so for that reason. In May, Lincoln was smuggling guns into the state to any Democrat who seemed to want to keep Kentucky out of the Confederacy. The President ignored the state's illegal neutrality. By the Fourth of July, Lincoln attacked neutrality as showing "no fidelity to the Constitution," but he sent no Union troops to Kentucky. Even after Unionists won the August elections for a new state legislature, Lincoln kept only Kentucky soldiers in Kentucky. When John C. Frémont issued an emancipation order in Missouri on August 30, some Kentucky soldiers threw down their guns and went home. Within a week, the Confederates stupidly invaded Kentucky. The legislature then abandoned neutrality and took active measures to support the North.

In just a year from this time, Lincoln would identify his administration with a policy of emancipation. And he wasted very little time in broaching the subject to the slave-holding Border. In six months Lincoln was advising the Border States to get rid of slavery; he sugared the pill by offering compensation. Kentucky turned the offer down, and it was Kentucky Congressmen especially, among them Charles Wickliffe, who raised objections to the plan in a meeting of Border State Congressmen with Lincoln on March 10, 1862.

The price Lincoln paid was unpopularity. McClellan took Kentucky in a landslide in 1864, 61,000 to 26,000, and, as Holman Hamilton has said, in spirit Kentucky then joined the Confederacy. For practical military reasons, however, Lincoln's cautious early policy of giving the reluctant Border disproportionate attention paid off, and Missouri and Kentucky helped more than they hindered the effort to keep the nation from falling apart.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 3. John C. Frémont



Lincoln Lore

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

July, 1978

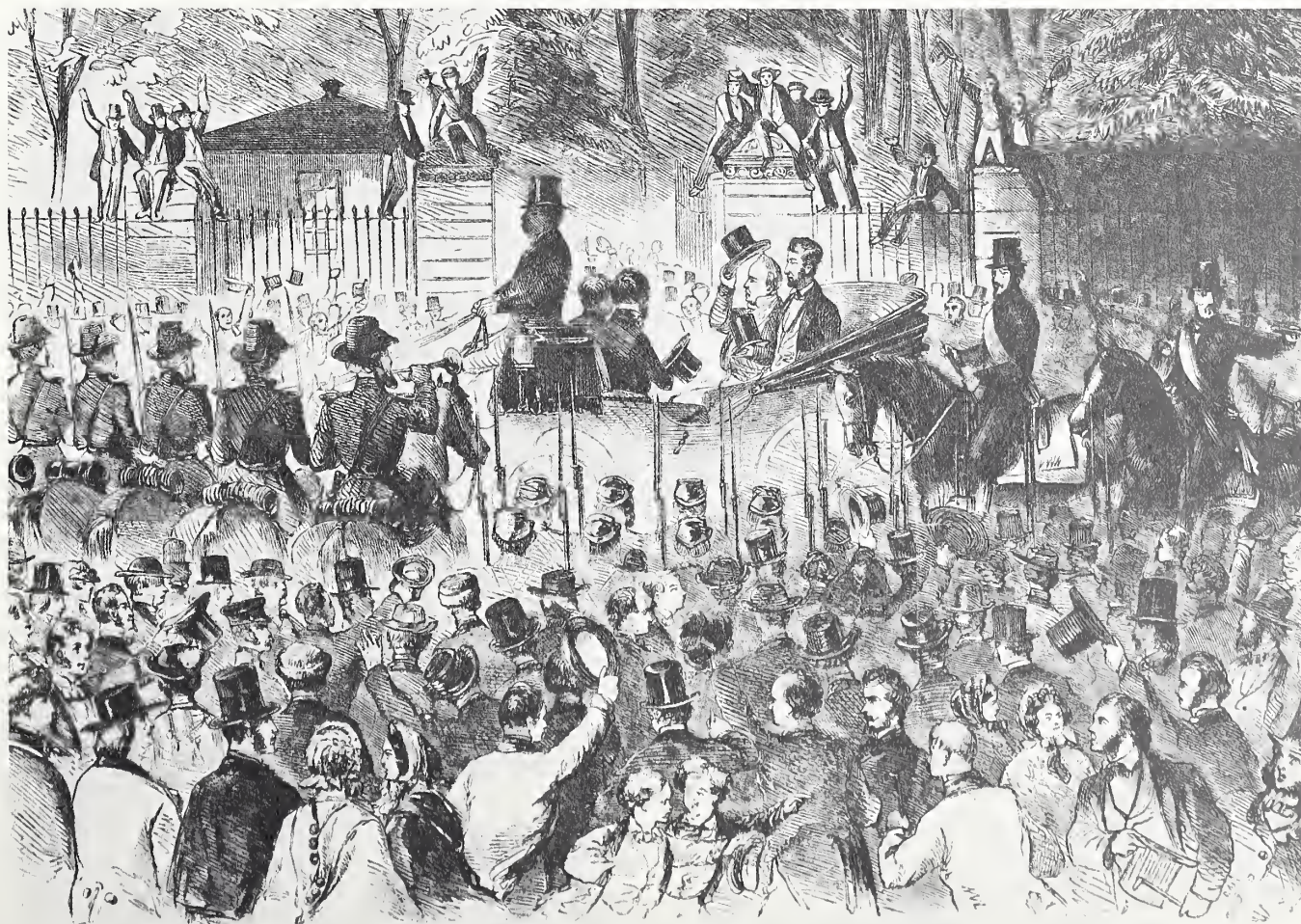
Number 1685

FIVE EX-PRESIDENTS WATCHED THE LINCOLN ADMINISTRATION

Presidents who retire from office are expected to become "elder statesmen." Former President Richard M. Nixon seems currently to be bidding for that status by promising to speak occasionally "in non-political forums." He will stress foreign policy, he says, because partisanship is supposed to end at America's shores. He promises to be above the partisan battles of the day; he will become an elder statesman.

In Lincoln's day, Presidents who left office did not automatically assume the status of elder statesmen. The five surviving ex-Presidents in 1861 — Martin Van Buren, John Tyler,

Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan — did have enough reputation for being above the party battles for it to be suggested more than once that they meet to find remedies for the secession crisis. That such a meeting never took place is eloquent testimony to the weakness of the non-partisan ideal in the nineteenth century. The broad public did not regard these men — and the ex-Presidents did not regard each other — as passionless Nestors well on their way to becoming marble statues. They proved, in fact, to be fiercely partisan.



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 1. Lincoln met two former Presidents shortly before his inauguration in 1861. Millard Fillmore greeted him in Buffalo, New York, and he met the incumbent, James Buchanan, twice in Washington. Reporters indicated that in both cases Lincoln chatted amiably, but no one knows the subjects of their conversations.

It was an irony that John Tyler came nearest to assuming an official status as a nonpartisan adjudicator in a conference meant to reconcile the sections, for he would later demonstrate the greatest partisan difference from the Lincoln administration of any of the former Presidents. By November of 1860, Tyler already thought it too late for a convocation of representatives of all the states to arrive at a compromise settlement which would save the Union. He did recommend a meeting of "border states" which would bear the brunt of any sectional war in the event a compromise was not reached. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri could at least arrange a peaceful separation of the South if they could not keep the Union together. Tyler's proposal never bore fruit, but, when the Virginia General Assembly proposed a peace conference of all states in Washington for February, 1861, Tyler became one of Virginia's five commissioners at the convention. The delegates in Washington elected Tyler president of the conference unanimously, but the convention was so divided in voting on recommendations that it was largely ignored by Congress. Tyler returned to Virginia and became an advocate of secession. When urged to lead a compromise movement after the fall of Fort Sumter in the spring, Tyler thought it hopeless. Lincoln, he said, "having weighed in the scales the value of a mere local Fort against the value of the Union itself" had brought on "the very collision he well knew would arise whenever Fort Sumter was attempted to be reinforced or provisioned." In November, Tyler was elected to serve in the Confederate House of Representatives. Far from becoming an elder statesman, John Tyler played a role in destroying the nation which had once elected him Vice-President.

Millard Fillmore despised Republicans as threats to the Union he loved and had once helped to preserve (by supporting the Compromise of 1850). In the secession crisis, he felt that the burden lay upon Republicans to give "some assurance . . . that they . . . are ready and willing to . . . repeal all unconstitutional state laws; live up to the compromises of the Constitution, and . . . treat our Southern brethren as friends." Nevertheless, he disagreed with the cautious policy of lame-duck President James Buchanan, who felt that the government had no authority to "coerce a state." The men who passed ordinances of secession, Fillmore argued, should be "regarded as an unauthorized assembly of men conspiring to commit treason, and as such liable to be punished like any other unlawful assembly engaged in the same business."

Though no one knows how Fillmore voted in 1860, it is doubtful that he voted for Lincoln. It seemed awkward, there-

fore, when Fillmore was Lincoln's official host during his stay in Buffalo, New York, on the way to Washington for the inaugural ceremonies. Fillmore took him to the First Unitarian Church in the morning and at night to a meeting in behalf of Indians, but no one knows what they talked about.

When war broke out in April, Fillmore rallied quickly to the colors. Four days after the fall of Fort Sumter, the ex-President was speaking to a mass Union rally in Buffalo, saying that it was "no time now to inquire by whose fault or folly this state of things has been produced;" it was time for "every man to stand to his post, and . . . let posterity . . . find our skeleton and armor on the spot where duty required us to stand." He gave five hundred dollars for the support of families of volunteers and soon organized the Union Continentals, a company of men too old to fight. Enrolling Buffalo's older men of sub-

stance in the Union cause, the Continentals dressed in colorful uniforms, provided escorts for ceremonial and patriotic occasions, and provided leverage for procuring donations for the Union cause. Fearing British invasion through Canada to aid the Confederacy, Fillmore hounded the government to provide arms and men to protect the Niagara frontier.

Suddenly in February of 1864, Fillmore performed an abrupt about-face. In the opening address for the Great Central Fair of the Ladies Christian Commission in Buffalo, Fillmore rehearsed a catalogue of war-induced suffering and announced that "lasting peace" would come only when much was "forgiven, if not forgotten." When the war ended, the United States should restore the South "to all their rights under the Constitution." Republicans were outraged. The ex-President had turned a nonpartisan patriotic rally into a veiled criticism of the administration's conduct of the war.

Personally, Fillmore felt that the country was "on the verge of ruin." Without a change in the administration, he said, "we must soon end in national bankruptcy and military despotism." The ex-President, once a Whig and a Know-Nothing, endorsed Democrat George B. McClellan for the Presidency in 1864.

After Lincoln's assassination, Fillmore led the delegation which met the President's funeral train and escorted it to Buffalo. This did not expunge from Republican's memories Fillmore's partisan acts of 1864. Nor did it cool his dislike of Republicans. In 1869, he stated that it would be "a blessing to break the ranks of the corrupt proscription radical party, that now curses the country. Could moderate men of both parties unite in forming a new one . . . it would be well."

Among the five living ex-Presidents, none was more hostile to President Lincoln than Franklin Pierce. In 1860, he hoped



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 2. Millard Fillmore.

that a united Democratic party would choose Southern candidate John C. Breckinridge. The New Hampshire Democrats endorsed Stephen A. Douglas instead, but Pierce went along with the decision, though without enthusiasm. Lincoln's election was, for this Democratic ex-President, a "distinct and unequivocal denial of the coequal rights" of the states. In a letter written on Christmas Eve, 1861, Pierce urged the South to delay action for six months. If the North did not right the wrongs done the South, then she could depart in peace.

It was hoped that all of the ex-Presidents might attend John Tyler's Washington Peace Conference. Pierce declined, saying that "the North have been the first wrong doers and [he had] never been able to see how a successful appeal could be made to the south without first placing [the North] right." After news of Fort Sumter's fall, however, he reconsidered and wrote ex-President Martin Van Buren, suggesting that Van Buren assemble the former Presidents in Philadelphia to resolve the crisis. He spoke in Concord, New Hampshire, urging the citizens "to stand together and uphold the flag." Van Buren declined to call the former Presidents together and suggested that Pierce himself should. The wind went out of the sails of the idea of an ex-Presidents' peace convention.

Soon, Pierce lost his enthusiasm for the war effort. He made a trip in the summer of 1861 to Michigan and Kentucky to visit old political friends. On Christmas Eve, he received a letter from Secretary of State William H. Seward, then in charge of the administration's political arrests, enclosing a letter from an anonymous source which accused Pierce of making his trip to promote membership in the Knights of the Golden Circle, "a secret league" whose object was "to overthrow the Government." Seward unceremoniously demanded an explanation from the former President of the United States. Pierce indignantly denied the charge, Seward quickly apologized, and it was soon discovered that Seward had fallen for a hoax. An opponent of the Republicans had written the letter to show how far the Republicans would go in their policy of crying "treason" at the slightest provocation.

Pierce sank into despair. He loathed the proscription of civil liberties in the North, detested emancipation, and saw the Lincoln administration as a despotic reign. The killing of white men for the sake of freeing black men was beyond his comprehension. He thought Lincoln a man of "limited ability and narrow intelligence" who was the mere tool of the abolitionists. He stopped short of endorsing the Southern cause. Old friends avoided him, but Pierce swore never to "justify, sustain, or in any way or to any extent uphold this cruel, heartless, aimless unnecessary war."

At a rally in Concord on July 4, 1863, Pierce courted martyrdom. "True it is," he said, "that I may be the next victim of unconstitutional, arbitrary, irresponsible power." He called efforts to maintain the Union by force of arms "futile" and said that only through "peaceful agencies" could it be saved. Pamphlets compared Pierce to Benedict Arnold, but he persisted and urged the Democratic party to adopt a platform in 1864 calling for restoring the Union by ceasing to fight. Republicans did not forget his actions. New Hampshire provided no public recognition of her son's public career for fifty years after the war.

Martin Van Buren, alone among the ex-Presidents, gave the Lincoln administration unwavering support. He refused Pierce's invitation to organize a meeting of ex-Presidents out of a desire not to be associated with James Buchanan, whose course during the secession crisis Van Buren despised. He had confidence in Lincoln, based probably on information he received from the Blair family, Montgomery Blair being a Republican and a member of Lincoln's cabinet.

There was no more interesting course pursued by an ex-President than James Buchanan's. He had more reason than any other to feel directly antagonistic to the Lincoln administration. Like Pierce, Buchanan had been accused by Lincoln in 1858 of conspiring with Stephen A. Douglas and Roger B. Taney to nationalize slavery in the United States. As Lincoln's immediate predecessor in the office, Buchanan had succeeded in his goal of avoiding war with the South until the new administration came in. The price of this success was the popular imputation of blame on the weak and vacillating course of the Buchanan administration for not nipping seces-

sion in the bud. It was commonly asserted that Buchanan conspired with secessionists to let the South out of the Union. Lincoln's Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, for example, felt that the Buchanan administration "connives at acts of treason at the South." Despite the findings of a Congressional investigation, many persisted in the belief that the administration had allowed a disproportionate share of arms to flow to Southern arsenals and a dangerously large amount of money to remain in Southern mints. When war broke out, feelings were so strong against Buchanan that he required a guard from the local Masonic Lodge in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to protect his home, Wheatland, from vandalism and himself from personal injury. President Lincoln did not help Buchanan's plight when, in his message of July 4, 1861, he charged that he found the following upon entering office: a "disproportionate share, of the Federal muskets and rifles" in Southern armories, money in Southern mints, the "Navy . . . scattered in distant seas," and Fort Pickens incapable of reinforcement because of "some *quasi* armistice of the late administration."

Such charges rankled Buchanan, and he spent much of the war years in a careful but quiet attempt to amass documentation which would refute the charges. By late 1862, he had written a book which accomplished this task (to his satisfaction, at least), but he delayed publication until 1866 "to avoid the possible imputation . . . that any portion of it was intended to embarrass Mr. Lincoln's administration." Buchanan's friend Jeremiah Black had doubted that Buchanan could defend his own administration without attacking Lincoln's:

It is vain to think that the two administrations can be made consistent. The fire upon the Star of the West was as bad as the fire on Fort Sumter; and the taking of Fort Moultrie & Pinckney was worse than either. If this war is right and politic and wise and constitutional, I cannot but think you ought to have made it.

Despite the many reasons for which Buchanan might have opposed the Lincoln administration, the ex-President did not. As far as he was concerned, the seceding states "chose to commence civil war, & Mr. Lincoln had no alternative but to defend the country against dismemberment. I certainly should have done the same thing had they begun the war in my time, & this they well knew." Buchanan did not think the war unconstitutional, and he repeatedly told Democrats that it was futile to demand peace proposals. He also supported the draft.

Buchanan considered it too late in 1864 for the Democrats to argue that Lincoln had changed the war's aims. He was pleased to see that McClellan, the Democratic candidate, thought so too. Lincoln's victory in the election, which Buchanan equated with the dubious honor of winning an elephant, caused Buchanan to think that the President should give a "frank and manly offer to the Confederates that they might return to the Union just as they were before." The ex-President's political views were as clearly nostalgic and indifferent to emancipation as those of any Democrat, but he was not among those Democrats who criticized the war or the measures Lincoln used to fight it.

Buchanan spoke of Lincoln in complimentary language. He thought him "a man of honest heart & true manly feelings." Lincoln was "patriotic," and Buchanan deemed his assassination "a terrible misfortune." The two men had met twice when Lincoln came to Washington to assume the Presidency, and Buchanan recalled the meetings fondly, remembering Lincoln's "kindly and benevolent heart and . . . plain, sincere and frank manners." When the Lincoln funeral train passed through Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Buchanan watched it from his buggy.

The ex-Presidents benefitted from the Revisionism of historians like James G. Randall. It was their work which rectified the generations-old charge that Buchanan trifled with treason. In some cases, however, this has been a distorting force. Randall's *Lincoln the President: Midstream* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1952) gives the reader an extremely sympathetic portrait of Franklin Pierce in keeping with Randall's view that most Democrats more truly represented Lincoln's views than his fellow Republicans. Thus Pierce appears as the victim of Seward's misguided zeal in the affair of the Knights of

the Golden Circle hoax and, in a particularly touching moment, as the friendly consoler of a bereaved father in the White House. In a horrible train accident immediately before entering the Presidency, Pierce and his wife had witnessed the death of their young son mangled in the wreckage of their car. Therefore, when Willie Lincoln died in 1862, ex-President Pierce sent a letter offering condolences. This is all one learns of Franklin Pierce in Randall's volumes on Lincoln's administration. It is useful to know of his partisan opposition to Lincoln and the war as well, and it in no way detracts from the magnanimity of his letter of condolence. If anything, it serves to highlight the personal depth of feeling Pierce must have felt for the Lincolns in their time of personal bereavement; it allows us even better to appreciate him as a man as well as a politician.

It is easy to forget that Presidents are men. This look at the ex-Presidents of Lincoln's day is a reminder that these men retained their personal and partisan views of the world. It would be hard to imagine an ex-President's club. Van Buren would have nothing to do with Buchanan, though both had been Democrats. Van Buren took the popular view that Buchanan was a "doughface" who trucked to the South instead of standing up to it as Andrew Jackson had done during the Nullification crisis. John Tyler remained a Virginian at heart and cast his fortunes with secession and against the country of which he had been President. Franklin Pierce and Millard Fillmore, the one a Democrat and the other a Whig in their prime,

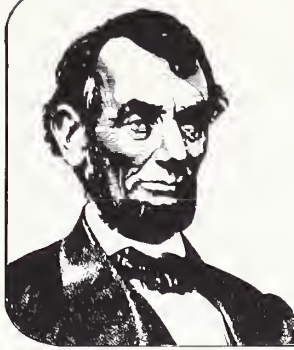
retained a dislike of the Republican party. Fillmore supported the war with vigor but came to despair of the effort through suspicion that the Republican administration mishandled it. Pierce always blamed the war on Republican provocation and came quickly, and not without some provocation from the administration, to oppose the war effort bitterly. Ironically, James Buchanan, who labored under the heaviest burden of charges of Southern sympathies, was the least critical of the administration of any of the ex-Presidents except Martin Van Buren. Critical of Republican war aims like the rest, Buchanan, nevertheless, supported the war effort and maintained a high personal regard for his Presidential successor. Buchanan thus approached the twentieth-century ideal of an elder statesman.

Editor's Note: The Presidents of Lincoln's era have been rather well served by their biographers. Two splendid examples are Roy F. Nichols's *Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958) and Philip Shriver Klein's *President James Buchanan: A Biography* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962). Robert J. Rayback's *Millard Fillmore: Biography of a President* (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1959) and Robert Seager, II's *And Tyler Too: A Biography of John & Julia Gardiner Tyler* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963) are useful. There is no careful study of Martin Van Buren's later life. The sketches of these Presidents here are based on these volumes.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. Lincoln and Buchanan did not meet again after this day.



Lincoln Lore

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

April, 1979

Number 1694

The Confederacy As A Revolutionary Experience

by John David Smith

Lincoln doubtless faced overwhelming trials as President, but these pale in contrast to those confronted by his Southern rival, Jefferson Davis. Not only did Davis lead a revolution and establish a new nation, but he was called upon to fight a modern, total war, direct foreign policy, and maintain the spirit of Southerners for their cause. Regardless of whatever "natural" advantages the Confederates may have had — the revolutionary zeal of patriots for a new republic, the benefit of fighting a defensive war on native soil, the ability to draw on short interior lines of communication and supply — their opponents held the upper hand in those areas which really counted: men, materiel, industrial capacity, and organization.

What's more, Davis forged the Confederate nation from scratch. After secession he molded eleven sovereign state-republics, preindustrial in outlook and ever sensitive to their individual states' rights, into a confederacy, a federation with a surprisingly strong central government. Lincoln, on the other hand, inherited the reins of a country with years of experience in being a nation, and with all the administrative and industrial machinery to wage war. The early successes of the infant Confederacy were not lost on England's Chancellor of the Exchequer, William Gladstone. Speaking on the Confederacy at Newcastle in October, 1862, Gladstone's remarks were music to Davis's ears. In slightly more than a year and one-half, explained the Englishman, "Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either, they have made a nation."

Although few historians have articulated it in these terms, the central theme of Confederate historiography is, and always has been, Confederate nationalism. Soon after Appomattox, architects of the myth of the "Lost Cause," men like Edward Pollard, Alexander Stephens, and Davis

himself, offered explanations, denunciations, and rationalizations for Confederate defeat. Despite their self-serving chauvinism and partisanship, these early writers raised salient questions about the nature of the Confederate experiment. States' rights, centralization, faulty leadership,

economic backwardness, state socialism, foreign recognition, disaffection on the homefront — these and innumerable other elements of Confederate strength and weakness have attracted later generations of trained historians. Writing in 1925, for example, historian Frank Lawrence Owsley charged that the Confederacy died from an overdose of states' rights theory. In reality, though, Owsley and numerous other students of the subject have all along been probing the Confederacy as a national experience.

In his new volume on the Confederacy, *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979 [*The New American Nation Series*]), Emory M. Thomas focuses squarely on Confederate nationhood. Thomas, a historian at the University of Georgia, is no neophyte to Confederate historiography. His first book, *The Confederate State of Richmond* (1971), is a pioneer work in Confederate urban history, a biography of the South's capital as an embattled city-state. In addition to numerous articles and a textbook on the Civil War, Thomas established his credentials as a historian of the Confederacy in 1971 with the publication of *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience*. This provocative speculative essay argues that the Southland underwent a dual revolution in its transformation from the Old South to the Confederate South. On one level the Confederacy symbolized an external "revolt against Yankee ways and a Yankee Union." But the revolution got out of hand and surpassed the goals of even the most rabid Southern revolutionaries. It ushered in an internal revolution, one which altered substantially the warp and woof of Southern life.



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FIGURE 1. The Great Seal of the Confederate States of America. In their political rhetoric Confederate Southerners honored the Founding Fathers. They perceived themselves as heirs to the revolutionary tradition of Washington and Jefferson. Confederates stressed their devotion to the true principles of American democracy, principles, they argued, which had been distorted under Northern misrule. The Confederate seal was designed by Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin and was adopted by the Confederate Congress in May, 1863. Significantly, it showed an equestrian portrait of George Washington (after the statue of Washington which surmounts the Capitol Square at Richmond), surrounded by a wreath of the South's agricultural staples — cotton, tobacco, sugar cane, corn, and wheat.

Thomas's latest book draws upon the concept of a dual revolution to explain Confederate nationalism from secession in 1860 and 1861 to submission in 1865. Like many historians of the South before him, Thomas emphasizes Southern distinctiveness, individualism, localism, and conservatism. He interprets secession as a means for Southerners "to define themselves as a people and to act out a national identity." "The essential fact of the Confederate experience," writes Thomas, "was that a sufficient number of white Southern Americans felt more Southern than American or, perhaps more accurately, that they were orthodox Americans and Northerners were apostates. Southern sectionalism became Southern nationalism and underwent trial by war."

One of the great ironies of Southern history is that secession — the region's external revolution — was essentially a conservative act. Southerners severed the Union and precipitated civil war in order to preserve and protect unique Southern institutions from encroachment. Although such root-and-branch radicals as Edmund Ruffin, Robert Barnwell Rhett, and William Lowndes Yancey had fueled the impulse for secession, the fire-eaters lost control of the Montgomery Convention and became mere "ornaments in the Confederate body politic." In their stead emerged moderate tacticians, men like Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens. These "sensible secessionists" envisioned themselves as nineteenth-century heirs to the revolutionary tradition of America's Founding Fathers.

The Confederacy's first heroes were George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Both men were good Southerners, but better yet, great Americans. Confederate Southerners wished not to repudiate their historic ties with the American experience. Rather, they celebrated the American past and decided only reluctantly to leave the Union. Dragging forth Washington and Jefferson as models, Confederate leaders believed that they too were justified in dissolving a Lockean compact by force.

Implicit in Thomas's analysis of the Confederate revolution are themes examined first by historian Bernard Bailyn in his authoritative research into the ideological origins of the American Revolution. Just as the revolutionaries of 1776 claimed that George III's colonial policies had perverted the spirit of the English constitution, the Confederate revolutionaries of 1861 charged that Northerners were destroying the principles of American representative government. The Confederates revolted not because of any dislike for the American Constitution, but because they held it so dear and detested the manner in which it was being distorted under Northern leadership. Significantly, in spite of their numerous allusions to the Founding Fathers, the Confederates never proposed America's only real precedent for confederation, the Articles of Confederation.

The Confederate Constitution illustrates well the essential conservatism of the South's external revolution. Whereas radical states' rightists favored a constitution designed to extend and intensify the slaveholders' ideology, "safe," moderate voices prevailed. The resulting document, the Confederate Constitution, was less Southern than American in origin. In most respects it resembled the very Federal Constitution which the secessionists had allegedly repudiated. Curiously, for example, the founding fathers of the new planters' republic refused to provide for the re-opening of the African slave trade. Thomas sees their conservatism as the Confederates' foremost characteristic. After secession, he writes, the "Confederates did not believe they needed to make new worlds; they were more than content with the world they already had." Their fundamental goal was not a break with the past, but rather the preservation of the Southern status quo.

War, however, altered drastically the entire nature of the Confederate experiment. After the attack upon Fort Sumter, Southern leaders no longer could speak in idealistic terms of a peaceful separation from the Union or of the Confederacy as simply an alternative nationality. War placed such strains on the fabric of the Confederacy that it occasioned the radical, internal revolt which ultimately rocked the Southern ship of state from its moorings.

The seeds of the internal Confederate revolution lay first in the outbreak of war, and second in the Confederate Constitution itself. The preamble to that document spoke both of the Confederate States acting in their "sovereign and independent character," and of a "permanent federal government." Delegates to the Confederate Constitutional Convention in Montgomery were not unaware of the potential dilemma

posed by a clash of state and Confederate rights. But rather than confront the problem, they "were satisfied to affirm state sovereignty in general terms and trust future generations to understand the meaning of the phrase." War, however, made the future the present. Designed to function during peacetime, the loose confederation of Southern states faltered terribly after the Confederacy's initial victory at Manassas.

Better than any previous historian, Thomas places the string of Confederate military setbacks and bungled campaigns, July, 1861-April, 1862, into the context of Confederate nationalism. During the early months of 1862 the Confederacy was clearly foundering as a result of its commitment to states' rights. "Southerners," writes Thomas, "had tried to act like a nation and had failed." During the first year of its existence as a nation, the Confederacy "had been an incarnation of the Old South, and as such the Old South had been tried and found wanting. Southerners found that Confederate national survival and rigid adherence to ante-bellum Southern ideology were mutually exclusive. The ante-bellum South could not metamorphose into the 'bellum' South without some fundamental alterations in its cherished way of life."

Thomas credits Jefferson Davis's positive and creative leadership with holding the key to Confederate survival for three additional years. With the support of the Confederate Congress, the President initiated a series of novel steps which transformed Davis's nation from a land steeped in the traditions of the Old South, to a revolutionary Confederate South, "distinct from the Souths that came before and after." During this second phase of the Southern revolt, the locus of Confederate power was in Richmond, no longer in eleven provincial state houses. The war against the Yankee invaders was conducted on a national level with strong centralized leadership provided by the President. Centralization, a sharp move away from states' rights and the ethos of the individual, became the Confederate way of life after 1862. Not only did the Davis regime come to control the South's military-agricultural-industrial complex, but it taxed, impressed supplies and laborers, and regulated foreign trade. Davis and the Confederate government even resorted to such infringements of personal liberties as the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the power to declare martial law, and conscription. In 1865, as a last ditch effort to provide men for the South's decimated armies, Congress authorized the arming of blacks as soldiers. Their willingness to sacrifice slavery — the South's sacred cow and cornerstone of the region's socio-economic system — revealed just how far Confederate nationalism had changed in the course of the war. Davis's all-consuming quest for Southern independence, Confederate self-determination, led the President to repudiate many of the principles upon which his new nation had been founded. Equally important, the Confederacy's internal revolt forced changes in almost every aspect of Southern national life.

One of the most dramatic areas of social change within the Confederacy was the impact of the war on the master-slave relationship. Thomas draws heavily on Eugene D. Genovese's view of slavery as a seignioral institution. It was a system of interdependency whereby the slaveholder depended upon the bondsman for labor and deference, and the slave upon his owner for paternal mastery and support. This reciprocal relationship may or may not have been stable during peacetime, but it unquestionably experienced severe strains during the Confederate war. Several forces worked to weaken the bonds between master and slave and, in turn, undermined the peculiar institution.

First, many masters served in the Confederate Army and their absence led to an overall decrease in white hegemony on the South's farms and plantations. "Substitute masters" — planters' wives, the elderly, overseers, and children — failed to provide the slaves with paternal control and, consequently, commanded less obedience from the slaves. Wartime shortages, the impressment of slaves, the presence of Union armies in rural districts, and the dramatic increase in the number of slaves in Southern cities also upset the traditional role of the master.

The exceptional circumstances of war prevented the planter from assuming the role of provider and master of all situations. As masters acted less like masters, slaves acted less like slaves. Thomas presents excellent case studies of the subtle and complex ways in which slavery changed under the pressures of war. Throughout the South, bondsmen began to break their chains either by running away or by less overt

means such as disrespectful or impudent behavior. Incredulous planters suffered considerable pain as they watched helplessly their social system, and their world, crumble about them. On the question of slave resistance, Thomas is extremely careful not to distort his evidence. Slaves, in fact *did* fight against the Confederacy by assisting runaways and Union troops. In doing so they were working out their own liberation. On the other hand, though, the slaves never rose *en masse* against their captors. Some even exhibited paternalism, guarded their masters, and thus reversed the master-slave roles.

Thomas's analysis of black Confederates is but one of numerous strengths in his excellent book. The volume is exhaustively researched and gracefully written. Its conclusions are in the main carefully reasoned. The footnotes bristle with references to the latest Confederate scholarship and the book's fifty-page bibliography is the most comprehensive enumeration of Confederate historiography in print. Only one recent major work, James L. Roark's *Masters Without Slaves* (New York, 1977), is omitted.

Thomas surveys all phases of the Confederate experience — administrative, cultural, diplomatic, and military — in such a judicious manner that none seems disproportionate in emphasis. This is especially true of his superb military accounts which are analytical and insightful, not mere rehashes of well-known Civil War engagements.

Perhaps Thomas's greatest strength as a historian is his uncanny ability to penetrate below the surface of complex issues and render balanced judgments. When analyzing the Confederacy's offensive-defensive strategy, for example, he makes the important point that the measure of Confederate nationhood was not achieving military victory, but rather avoiding defeat. Endurance was the key to Confederate nationalism. Every day the Confederate government survived offered undeniable proof of Southern independence and the success of Davis's conservative revolt.

He also offers just appraisals of two of the Confederacy's most maligned figures: Treasury Secretary Christopher G. Memminger and Davis himself. Both men were criticized in their day by disgruntled Confederate editors and politicians. Through the years historians have heaped much of the blame for Southern defeat on their shoulders. Thomas, however, is sympathetic in his treatment of them. Memminger, he argues, was a victim of Confederate circumstance. Although the South Carolinian favored a system of direct taxation from the start, his wishes were stymied by the overwhelming financial needs of the new nation and the innate conservatism of states' rights ideology. Cognizant of "the folly of unsupported paper money," Memminger tried repeatedly to retire large quantities of Southern paper currency and thereby arrest inflation. The task, concludes Thomas, simply was too great.

His positive assessment of Davis is in line with the recent biography of the man by Clement Eaton and with Paul D. Escott's important new book, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978). The new scholarship on Davis, while not eulogizing him as Hudson Strode did in his multi-volume biography, emphasizes the President's dedication, intelligence, and considerable flexibility. Although in many ways Davis remains a sphinx, historians no longer view him totally as an icy, snappish, doctrinaire constitutionalist.

What impresses Thomas most about Davis was the Mississippian's unflagging commitment to Confederate self-determination. Yet by February, 1865, when the Confederate Congress expressed its lack of confidence in his leadership,

the cause was already lost. "Davis," explains Thomas, "had tried to unify military command in himself, and although he had done so to a greater degree than his enemies, the Southern President had failed as a war leader, if only because he was losing the war." Even after Richmond had fallen, however, Davis refused to succumb to defeat and was ready to take to the hills to lead a guerilla war. The author notes that Davis's plan to fight till the end "reversed the normal pattern of guerilla operations and envisioned a transition from regular forces to partisans instead of the other way around." But an unconventional, irregular war proved unacceptable to a people who had already given so much of themselves in four years of strife. Southerners, concludes Thomas, were unprepared to offer "the ultimate sacrifice: that of themselves and their fundamental attachment to people and place."

Thomas undoubtedly is correct. There were limits to the lengths Southerners would go to win independence. But he merely speculates when he argues that the Confederates held a greater attachment to hearth and kin than did the Yankees. There simply is no way to prove or disprove an assertion such as this: "Confederates were conditioned to look upon land as the basis of wealth and social status. The culture of the Southern folk required a stable community of landholders." Could not the same sentences be applied to Northerners? Antebellum Northerners and Southerners worshiped land. In

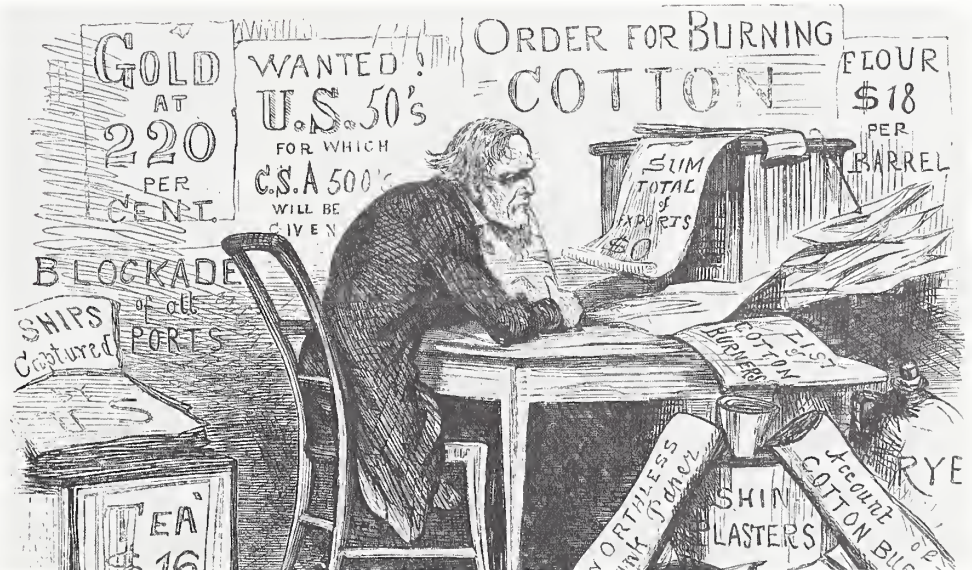


FIGURE 2. In his new book Emory M. Thomas sympathizes with the impossible fiscal problems faced by Confederate Treasury Secretaries Christopher G. Memminger and George Trenholm. This anti-Confederate cartoon appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, September 6, 1862, p. 576. It is clearly unsympathetic to Jefferson Davis's economic woes.

this respect, at least, the Southerner was an American, not a Southerner *sui generis*.

Thomas's thesis stems from David M. Potter's interpretation of Southern distinctiveness which appeared in the *Yale Review* almost twenty years ago. In "The Enigma of the South," Potter wrote that the South's "culture of the folk" was the region's most identifiable trait. According to Potter, historically "the relation between the land and the people remained more direct and more primal in the South than in other parts of the country." Potter, one of the most careful and distinguished historians of the South, advanced this thesis as one possible answer to a vexing enigma, not as dogma. Thomas, however, applies Potter's tentative explanation of Southernism uncritically and weaves it to his own interpretation of Southern individualism.

Thomas's emphasis upon the individualism of Southerners and their unique characteristics leads him to make some provocative, though not completely defensible, arguments. Not only is this true of his treatment of the Confederacy's cultural and intellectual history, but of its military and economic history as well. The author's description of Pickett's assault on the Union center at Gettysburg is a good case in point. According to Thomas, the charge was "a gallant disaster. In a way it was the entire Confederate war in microcosm — a

gathering of clans instead of military organizations[,] led by an officer corps distinguished by its eccentricities, marching forth with bands playing and flags flying to take a gamble justified largely by the size of the stakes." Aside from the fact that Thomas fails to develop the ideas implicit in the terms "clans" and "eccentricities," might not similar words be used to describe the actions of Burnside and his Union troops at the Battle of Fredericksburg?

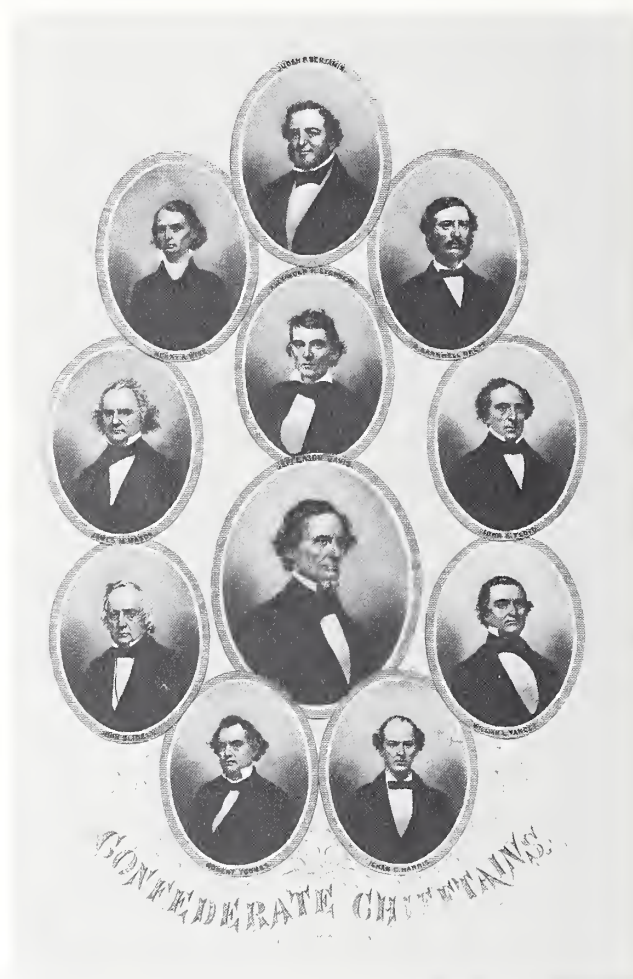
In another instance, an interesting analysis of the Confederacy's industrialists, Thomas espouses the distinctiveness of the South's captains of industry. Employing Antonio Gramsci's distinctions between types of intellectuals, Thomas argues that the leaders of the South's war industries "were hardly entrepreneurs whose acquisitive instincts fit the Yankee stereotype. On the contrary, the South's war industrialists tended to be 'traditional intellectuals' — school teachers, natural philosophers, and military scientists — as opposed to 'organic intellectuals' — industrial managers, mechanical engineers, and the like." His point would be far more convincing had Thomas examined the antebellum backgrounds of a large number of Confederate industrialists. Instead, he analyzed the postbellum careers of but five figures, too small a sample from which to draw overall conclusions. A real test of Thomas's hypothesis would have been the sort of collective biographical research conducted recently by Maury Klein into Northern Civil War industrialists.

Thomas's treatment of Confederate economic history raises additional questions as well. First, throughout his volume the author equates "preindustrial" with "precapitalist." Eugene



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FIGURE 3. In the waning days of the Civil War some Confederates proposed granting dictatorial powers to General Robert E. Lee. One of the South's most beloved figures, Lee joined the Confederate Army reluctantly, only after his native state, Virginia, had seceded.

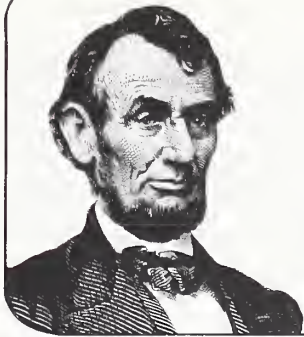


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FIGURE 4. A Mississippi planter, Jefferson Davis surrounded himself with fellow members of the Southern elite. In the process he alienated the South's plain folk.

D. Genovese's important scholarship notwithstanding, cannot a region such as the Old South be simultaneously agricultural and still capitalist? Given Thomas's use of these terms, the Old North — largely agricultural but more industrialized than the Old South — would be precapitalist too. Part of Thomas's problem is that Confederate agriculture (the same may be said for Confederate religion) has not received the careful attention from scholars which it deserves. Students, for example, must test his conclusion that "The Confederates sustained themselves industrially better than they did agriculturally and far better than they had any reason to expect in 1861." Much more also needs to be learned about the economic condition of the Southern masses during the war. Although Thomas does not neglect consideration of the ordinary Confederates, the nonslaveholding yeomen and urban dwellers, our knowledge of this majority of Southerners is thin. Paul D. Escott's new book is a major step in the right direction. According to Escott, President Davis's greatest blunder was his insensitivity to the economic problems of the South's plain folk. Limited by his states' rights critics and his upper class perspective, the Confederate chief executive proved unable "to create the internal unity and spirit essential for the growth of Confederate nationalism."

Despite these strictures, Thomas has produced the best book on the Confederacy to appear in years. This is no mean feat because such outstanding Southern historians as E. Merton Coulter, Clement Eaton, Charles P. Roland, and Frank E. Vandiver have contributed valuable monographs on the subject. Thomas brings a mastery of the sources and a keen analytical mind to the task. He has established himself as the foremost interpreter of the Confederacy, the South's national experience.



Lincoln Lore

August, 1980

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1710

BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE Lincoln in Graphic Art, 1860-1865

The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum is sponsoring an exhibit of popular prints of Abraham Lincoln in the Cannon Office Building of the House of Representatives in February and March of 1981. The exhibit, nestled in the arches of the handsome rotunda of the Cannon Building, is open to the public and free of charge. The customary traffic in this building consists of people who are themselves politicians, who work for politicians, or who call on politicians, and the exhibit naturally focuses on Lincoln's political image.

The heyday of public relations and propaganda arrived only with the First World War, and America's nineteenth-century Presidents had little awareness of the powers of conscious image-making. The Lincoln administration, which at its height had a White House staff of three secretaries, employed none of the elaborate apparatus of modern image-conscious politicians. Imagery was the province of, among others, the popular printmakers of the day.

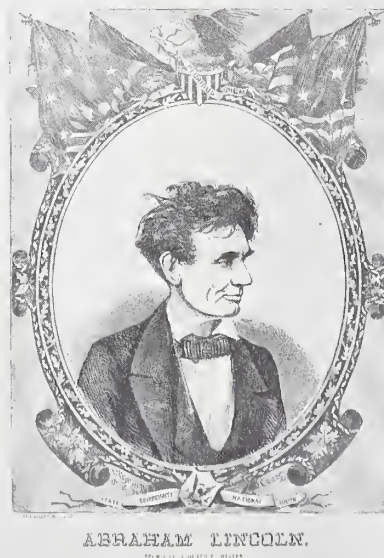
Abraham Lincoln and the graphic arts in America grew up together. Neither took much notice of the other until 1860, when Lincoln became the Republican nominee for President. Suddenly the Republican party needed pictures of him for campaign posters, and the voters wanted to know what he looked like. Lincoln's looks were an issue well before most people had seen a picture of him, for it was widely rumored that he was ugly. Lincoln was genuinely modest about his looks, and he took notice of the graphic arts only when they were forced upon his attention. He rarely commented on the various portraits of him produced after he became a national political figure. He confessed that he knew "nothing" of such matters, that he had an "unpracticed eye," and that he was, in truth, "a very indifferent judge" of the artistic merits of efforts to capture his likeness.

Lincoln's Presidential nomination in 1860 surprised nearly everyone. The first mass-produced likeness of him, an engraving by F. H. Brown of Chicago, appeared only at the nominating convention itself. Lincoln had been so seldom photographed before 1860 that

the printmaker had to copy his likeness from a photograph taken in Chicago in 1857, a photograph noted for the disorderly appearance of Lincoln's hair. Printmakers needed more photographs of the candidate and more gentlemanly poses. Numerous sittings for photographers and for painters with commissions from Republican patrons demanding that they make the candidate "good looking whether the original would justify it or not" soon solved the problem of models from which the printmakers could work, and the great process of Presidential image-making began.

Popular prints relied on sentimentalism, sensationalism, and satire. Sensational pictures of fires and other disasters had helped make lithography a growth industry in the 1840s, and, during Lincoln's Presidency, the printmakers would capitalize on battle scenes to continue this form of appeal. Sentimentalism, however, was the dominant motif of popular prints, just as it dominated popular literature. Politics lent themselves more to satire than sentiment, and Presidential campaigns always boosted the cartoon industry. In the end, nevertheless, sentimentalism triumphed — a victory so complete that the political cartoons of Lincoln still appear a little strange to us.

They appear strange, too, because the nature of the art of political cartooning was quite different in Lincoln's era from that of today. For one thing, cartoons were a part of the print business. Most were poster cartoons issued as separate prints by firms like Currier & Ives, more famous today for nostalgic landscapes and sentimental genre pictures. These firms put business ahead of politics and produced both pro- and anti-Lincoln cartoons. Sometimes the same artist produced cartoons on both sides of a political question. Louis Maurer (1832-1932) drew both "Honest Abe Taking Them on the Half Shell," predicting that Lincoln would gobble up the Democratic politicians grown fat from their long years in office, and "The Rail Candidate," one of the better anti-Lincoln cartoons of the campaign. Another difference from modern political art is that cartoonists did not go in for



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FIGURE 1. How the people first saw Lincoln.



FIGURE 2. Louis Maurer guessed at Lincoln's grin.

caricature, which dominates modern political cartoons. Instead of exaggerating physical features which characterized a politician's face, they copied the faces slavishly from available photographs. Maurer's "Honest Abe" is adventuresome in attempting to depict Lincoln's smile. Lincoln never smiled in his photographs, and to this day no one knows what his teeth looked like. Humor usually stemmed only from the improbable situations in which the cartoonists placed the politicians or from balloons of language, often filled with obscure puns.

The political cartoons of Lincoln's day were not forward-looking in terms of method. They are, therefore, all the better as documents of the social and political beliefs of that era. They are cluttered with figures and words, and the social stereotypes in the backgrounds of the cartoons are a vivid index of the lowest common denominator of public opinion.

In 1860 the cartoonists, their pens ready to attack William H. Seward, the front-runner for the Republican nomination, were as astonished as most American voters were at Lincoln's nomination. Like the voters, they knew almost nothing about him. They seized with alacrity on the few available scraps of colorful information about Lincoln. Republicans touted Lincoln as the "Railsplitter," and a rail became essential in Lincoln cartoons. He was often depicted in a workingman's blouse rather than the customary coat and tie of most candidates, but, no matter the attire, he almost always had a rail handy. He might use his rail to fend off candidates trying to break into the White House; he might exercise on it; or he might use it to drive the wildcat of sectional discord back into the Republican bag.

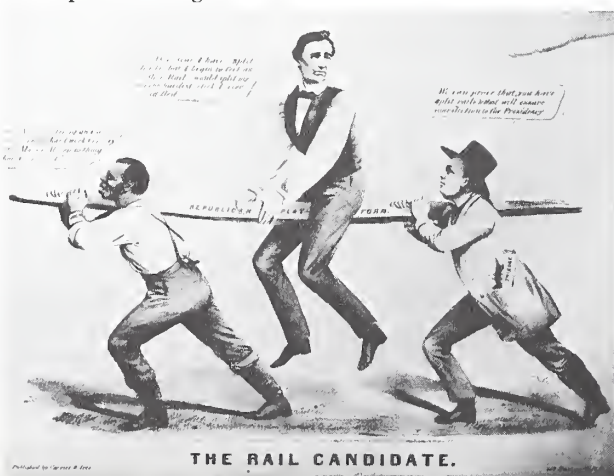


FIGURE 3. Maurer put the anti-Lincoln elements together in their simplest form.

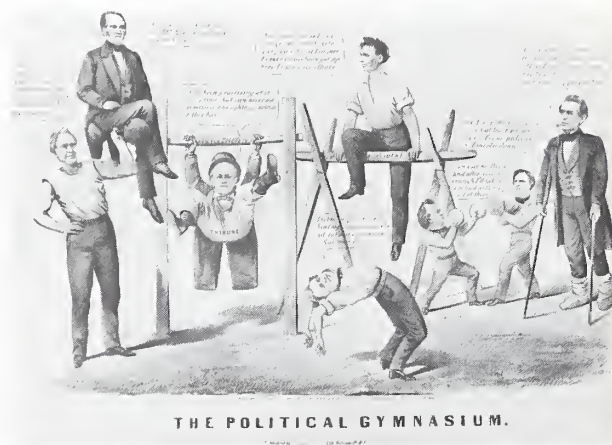


FIGURE 4. Railing at the candidate.

The standard anti-Lincoln cartoon in 1860 contained four elements: Lincoln, a rail, Horace Greeley, and a black man. Greeley was a cartoonist's delight, almost a self-caricature. The moon-faced outspoken reformer wore a long white duster, its pockets crammed with pamphlets and papers. Over the years, Greeley had flirted with a myriad of reforms, some of them quite radical, and he came to symbolize the crank reformer on the enthusiastic lunatic fringe of the Republican party. His presence in the cartoons was a reminder of the allegedly dangerous and radical impulses in the Republican party.

One need not look long at political cartoons in Lincoln's era to see evidence of the pervasive racism of nineteenth-century American popular opinion. The presence of black men, women, girls, boys, and babies in Lincoln cartoons was meant



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FIGURE 5. Adalbert Volck was among the best.

to stand as a warning of the racial results of Republican anti-slavery policies.

Lincoln was so little known that cartoonists assumed he was a nonentity who would dance to the tune of more powerful figures in the Republican party. Often, he was not even the central figure in their busy cartoons, and Lincoln's failure to take over the central spot in these cartoons is an unconscious sign of the artists' inability to take him seriously. What seemed serious was the threat that the reform impulse represented by Greeley and the Negro might at last seize control of the country on the coattails of this unobjectionable but innocuous candidate.

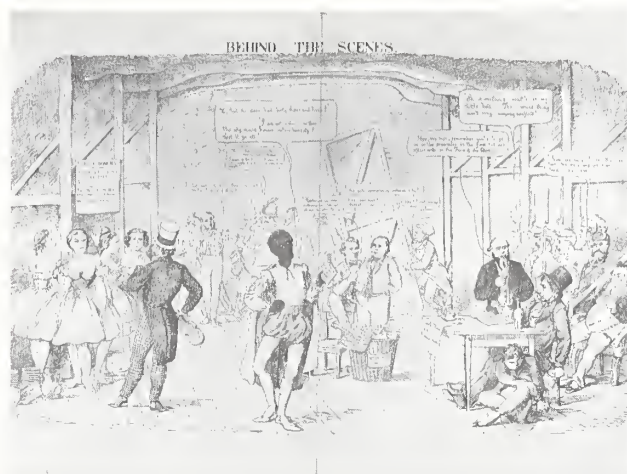
The greatest satirical talent in American graphic art in Lincoln's day was located in the camp of the opposition. Adalbert Johann Volck (1828-1912) was a Baltimore dentist who had come to the United States from Bavaria. He probably received some training in the graphic arts in Europe, as did many other American artists in Lincoln's day, but Baltimore shaped his political opinions. Maryland, though it did not secede, was a slave state, and opposition to the Republican party in the state was virulent. Volck was decidedly pro-Southern and loathed the Lincoln administration.

Volck's considerable technical skills as an etcher were united with a sharp satirical eye. In one of the most brilliantly conceived and skillfully executed prints of the period, Volck pictured Lincoln as a hopelessly idealistic Don Quixote, carrying a John Brown pike instead of a lance, accompanied by that sordid reminder of Northern materialism, Benjamin



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FIGURE 6. Literary allusions were common.



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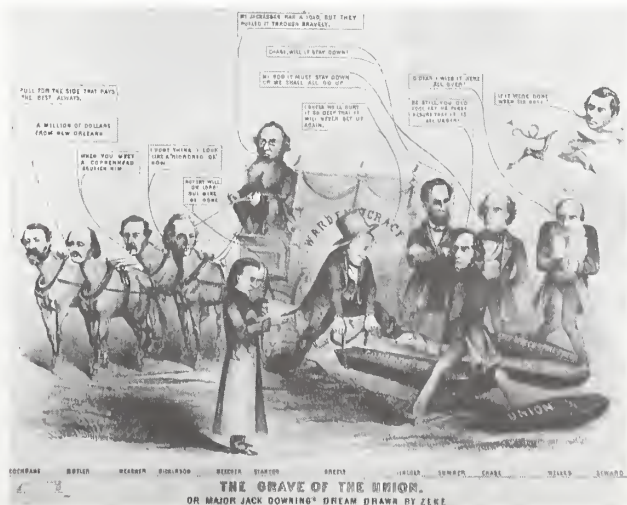
FIGURE 7. Benjamin Butler is Falstaff.

F. Butler, as Sancho Panza, complete with stolen Southern cutlery in his belt. Volck's cartoons also played on fevered fears of the white race if the North were victorious in the Civil War.

Volck's work is sometimes carelessly thought of as Confederate cartoons, the only vigorous Southern counterpart of Thomas Nast's pro-Republican cartoons in the North. In truth, Nast was very young and not particularly active during the Civil War, and Volck's satirical etchings were really Copperhead cartoons, the product of anti-Lincoln sentiment in the North. Volck was apparently never arrested for producing the prints nor for his more treasonous activities like smuggling spies and medicines to the Confederacy. His art stands as a visual embodiment of the political atmosphere which led a group of Maryland men (and one D. C. pharmacist's assistant) eventually to murder President Lincoln. John Wilkes Booth, a Maryland native, led the group.

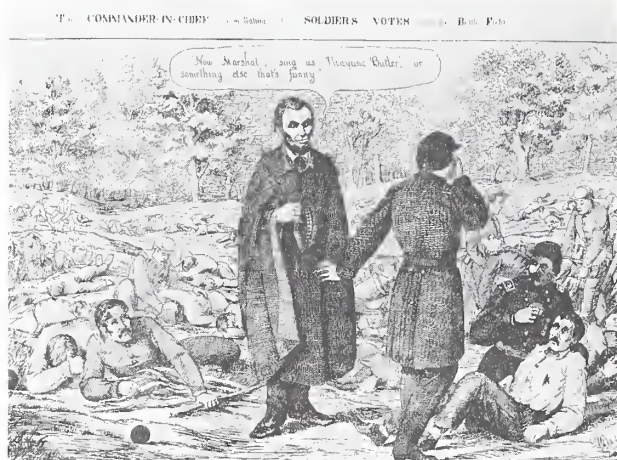
By 1864 printmakers knew more about Lincoln, and their work during his bid for reelection seized on some entirely new themes. The rail was gone, and no single symbol so dominated cartoons as it had done four years earlier. Its nearest competitor was Lincoln's reputation for telling jokes. This quality endears him to twentieth-century Americans, but it was less clearly a political asset in Lincoln's earnest Victorian era. Cartoonists frequently attacked him as a mere frontier joker — too small for the job of President.

Two of the better cartoons of the 1864 campaign capitalized on Lincoln's reputation as a lover of Shakespeare's works. J. H. Howard depicted Lincoln's Democratic rival for the Presidency, George B. McClellan, as Hamlet, holding the



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FIGURE 8. A crowded but effective cartoon.



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FIGURE 9. A cartoon for the ugly mood of 1864.

skull of Lincoln as Yorick and asking, "Where be your gibes now?" Thus the artist combined his knowledge of Lincoln's reputation for joking and for reading Shakespeare's works. Another cartoonist moved away from merely associating Lincoln with black people to turning Lincoln into a black man himself. Shakespeare provided the artful mechanism for doing so: the cartoonist depicted Lincoln as Othello. This print lacked the simplicity of conception of Howard's cartoon, but the crowded stage contained other figures who symbolized controversial acts of the Lincoln administration. Secretary of State Seward, seated at Lincoln's left, had once been in charge of arrests of disloyal persons in the North. Rumor had it that Seward had once boasted to the English ambassador that he could ring a little bell and cause the arrest of anyone in the United States.

The story about Seward was doubtless untrue, but its fame was revealing of the anxiety aroused by the suspension of some traditional American liberties in the North during the Civil War. The Democrats were bereft of their traditional

appeals to economic discontent by high wartime employment. Lincoln frustrated some of their appeals to racism by claiming that the Emancipation Proclamation was essential to provide the man power necessary to win the war. The issue of civil liberties was about the only one left in the Democratic arsenal. "The Grave of the Union" added to the traditional figures of Lincoln, Greeley, and a black baby (under Henry Ward Beecher's arm), portraits of those "War Democrats" who served the Lincoln administration, most notably the driver of the hearse, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.

Lincoln's reputation for humor did not prevent the creation of sinister images of the President. The story that Lincoln had asked his friend Ward Hill Lamon to sing a vulgar and humorous tune on a visit to the Antietam battlefield led to one of the most darkly effective anti-Lincoln cartoons of the Civil War. In truth, Lincoln asked for the tune to cheer him up after the gloomy visit. He was miles from the battlefield when the event occurred. All the bodies on the field had been buried long ago. The spurious charge was so effective, however, that Lincoln prepared a long letter for the press explaining the event. In the end, he decided not to issue it, and the story was not effectively scotched until 1895 when Lamon published a facsimile of Lincoln's letter in his *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865*.

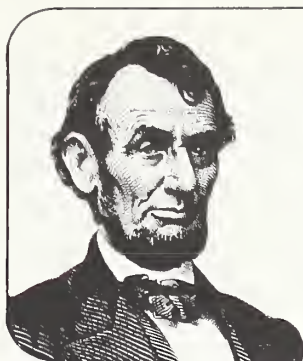
The Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation brought rapid (and, unfortunately, temporary) changes in the customary depiction of black people in popular art. "Union and Liberty! And Union and Slavery!" contained the common message of Republican cartoons that McClellan's election was tantamount to a victory for Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy. It also contained in the background an unusual depiction of racial harmony, as white and black children emerged from a school. Such an image was unthinkable four years earlier.

This issue of *Lincoln Lore* has focused principally on the satirical vein in popular prints of Lincoln. There was a sentimental counterattack, and the next issue will focus on those prints in the exhibit which made Lincoln's image what it is today. In the meantime, if you happen to be in the Washington area, please drop by the Cannon Office Building to view "BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE: Lincoln in Graphic Art, 1860-1865."



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 10. This appeal to the white workingman contains an unusual vision of racial harmony.



Lincoln Lore

July, 1981

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1721

THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN ENCYCLOPEDIA

By Mark E. Neely, Jr.

New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1982. Pp. xii, 356.

Reviewed by

Robert V. Bruce, Professor of History, Boston University

In this book reassurance comes once again to those of us who periodically doubt that any new book on Lincoln can be also original and significant. The fundamental originality of Mark Neely's *The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia* lies more in its form and function than in its content, but for those who read and write about Lincoln it is nonetheless significant.

In 1950 Archer H. Shaw patched together snippets of Lincoln's writings under topical headings and called the result *The Lincoln Encyclopedia*. That title was an obvious misnomer. Not so with Neely's book. Its more than three hundred articles are arranged alphabetically by title, each one complete in itself. In this respect the book's coverage of the Lincoln field is indeed encyclopedic. And it further lives up to its title by not straying from that field. Some articles—Abolitionism, Nationalism, and Slavery, for example—have headings broad enough to lure a less self-disciplined writer into long asides, but Neely keeps to those aspects of them that directly involved or impinged on Lincoln. Moreover, Neely distinguishes between the Lincoln story and the Civil War in general, not an easy line to draw. Battles are omitted as article subjects, and only those military leaders with whom Lincoln's dealings were direct and substantial are given articles to themselves.

In choosing subjects, the author drew on nine years of experience not only as a Lincoln scholar but also as director of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum and thus as respondent to countless public inquiries about Lincoln. He also systematically examined index entries in major writings on Lincoln and discussed the list with other Lincoln scholars.

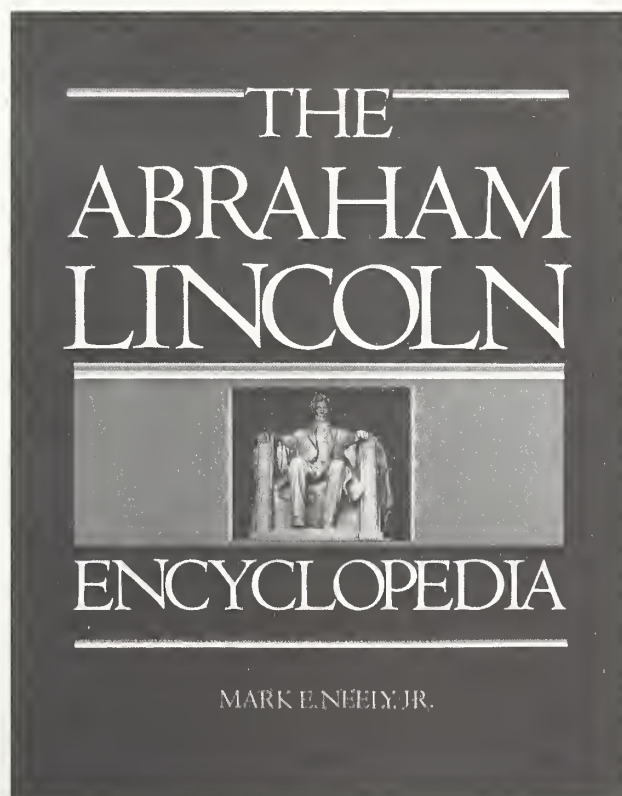
The final roster is therefore by no means capricious or idiosyncratic. Most readers will inevitably disagree with some inclusions and exclusions. My own inclination, for example, would have been to have fewer articles bearing on Lincoln's assassination, perhaps eliminating or consolidating those on peripheral figures in the affair. But the best encyclopedia is one designed to answer what people are most likely to ask, and Neely's judg-

ment on that score has a firmer foundation than mine.

The absence of article subjects that some readers might wish to see included is largely made up for by a full (though not exhaustive) index. For example, there is no article for "Declaration of Independence," while there is one for "Constitution." But the index gives thirty references to the Declaration, including seven under the subheading "primacy of, in Lincoln's thought." Cross-references are often given at the ends of both index entries and articles, although in some cases (for example, Newspapers and Supreme Court) the article inexplicably lists cross-references not given in the index entry, and conversely.

The articles fall into several broad categories. Many are biographical sketches, with emphasis on the Lincoln connection. Politicians thus covered include those who figured in Lincoln's Illinois career, as well as Cabinet members, Congressmen, diplomats, and state governors during the Washington years, and political figures like Washington, Jefferson, Clay, and Webster who influenced Lincoln's life and thought, though he never met them. Journalists, personal friends, associates in the legal profession, family members (including earlier and later generations), and persons related to the assassination form other sizable categories. Significant biographers of Lincoln and leading collectors of Lincolniana appear in considerable number, though limited to those no longer living. Artists, sculptors, and playwrights are included, and an article on Photographs briefly comments on photographers of Lincoln. The biographical sketches give further life to their subjects with small but well-chosen and well-repro-

duced photographs, bringing us face to face with the richly varied individuals who peopled Lincoln's extraordinary life. And the written commentaries give those individuals added dimension by telling us briefly what happened to them before and after their appearance on the Lincoln scene, making them more than mere background accessories. This justifies the allotting of separate sketches to obscure persons,



whose walk-on parts in the Lincoln drama would otherwise deny the reader a sense of their independent reality.

Besides the biographical articles, there is a rich assortment of subject articles, many of them enlivened with contemporary cartoons, drawings, and photographs. They include large themes such as Colonization, Conscription, Negroes, Slavery, Reconstruction, Economics, and Railroads, each focussing sharply on Lincoln's thought and action. There are more concrete political issues such as the Missouri Compromise, the Fugitive Slave Act, and *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. There are important episodes such as the Altoona Conference, the Hampton Roads Conference, and the Elections of 1860 and 1864. There are localities such as Washington, D.C., the Executive Mansion, Coles County, Illinois, and the towns in which Lincoln debated Douglas. Lincoln's notable legal cases, letters, speeches, and state papers are analyzed and discussed in separate articles. His personal traits and ideas are covered in such articles as Humor, Religion, Music, Physical Characteristics, and Psychology. Complementing the sketches of biographers and collectors are articles on notable Lincoln libraries and museums (with current addresses), on Lincoln Fellowships, and on other latter-day marks of remembrance such as Postage Stamps and the Lincoln Highway.

All this suggests the book's plan and range, but it does not touch on the quality of its execution. Not the least remarkable fact about the work is that, with all allowance for comment and criticism by other Lincoln experts on sundry articles in manuscript, the whole was written by one man. If it departs from the encyclopedia model, it is in its consequent unity of outlook and personal style. The writing is clear and concise, as it should be in an encyclopedia, but it is also vigorous, thoughtful, and unafraid to express opinions. James G. Randall's *Lincoln the President*, for example, is "easily the finest biography of Lincoln ever written" (p. 27), whereas Carl Sandburg's *Lincoln Collector*, on the Oliver Barrett collection of Lincolniana, is "rambling and diffuse" (p. 20). Neely's encyclopedia, in short, speaks with the voice of a man, not the monotone of a computer.

But if it is clearly Mark Neely who speaks in this book, it is also clear that he knows whereof he speaks. Almost every article concludes with a succinct, judiciously selective, and thoroughly up-to-date critical bibliography, supporting the article's statements and guiding the reader to further information. On numerous occasions Neely has used primary sources, such as the Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress or manuscripts in other libraries, and these are fully identified. The texts of the articles are as up-to-date as the bibliographies. The most substantial and original recent contribution to the study of Lincoln, G.S. Boritt's *Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream* (1978), is, for example, not only evaluated in the article on Biographers but is also drawn upon (with full credit) in such articles as Banking, Economics, Railroads, Republican Party, Tariff, and Whig Party.

It should be evident by now that anyone interested in Abraham Lincoln will find *The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia* not only unique but also indispensable, whether his interest is new or longstanding. The newcomer to that endlessly fascinating study may profitably begin with the compact yet lively and illuminating article on Biographers. The longtime Lincolnian may sample an article and find his memory refreshed, his interest rekindled, his impressions sharpened, and his knowledge of the literature made current. Even those familiar with all the facts in a given article will profit from the precision, balance, coherence, and discrimination with which they are presented.

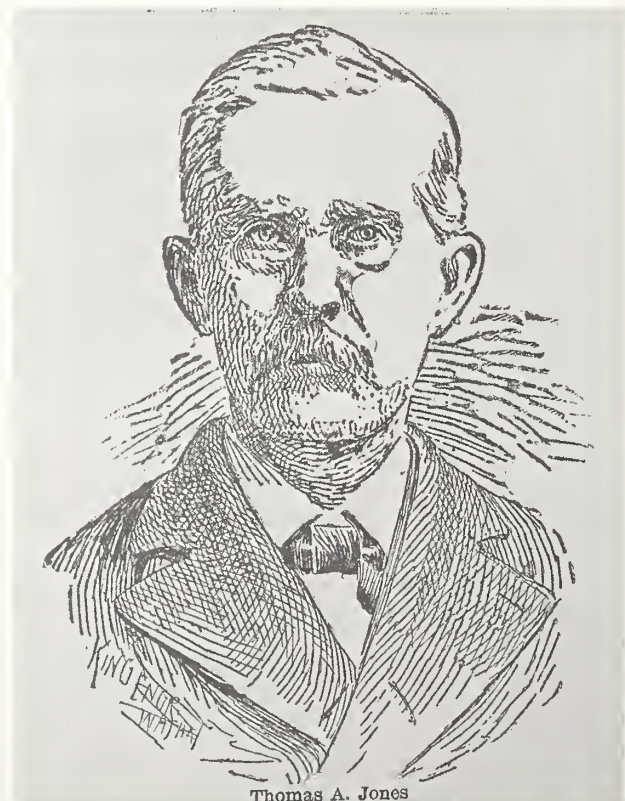
I have only one caution for the reader, whether he be a beginner or an old hand. As is said to be the case with fanciers of peanuts, those who consult this encyclopedia will find it difficult to stop with just one article. They will thus run a grave risk of missing appointments, putting off chores, or staying up too late at night. On the other hand, unlike the case of goober gobblers, it will be their minds, not their waistlines, that will expand.

Some New Light on Thomas A. Jones and a Mysterious Man Named Mudd

Thomas A. Jones, the man who helped John Wilkes Booth escape, lived to tell about it in his famous little book, *J. Wilkes Booth: An Account of His Sojourn in Southern Maryland after the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, his Passage Across the Potomac, and his Death in Virginia* (Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1893). As traitors' reminiscences go, it is an engaging and appealing work. Jones readily admitted his part as an accessory after the fact of Booth's crime and described with surprising candor his role as a Confederate "mail" agent in southern Maryland.

Jones told the story of his arrest early in the war for disloyal activities and his release several months later on swearing the oath of allegiance to the Union. A detachment of General Daniel E. Sickles's brigade arrested him near Pope's Creek in Maryland on orders issued from Colonel R.B. Marcy on October 4, 1861. Soldiers took him to the Thirteenth Street Prison in Washington, D.C. E.J. Allen, a Federal agent working for General Andrew Porter, Provost Marshal in Washington, had received information that Jones regularly used his boat to ferry contraband goods and men who wished to join the Confederate army across the Potomac to Virginia.

The official record of Jones's arrest contains some interesting information which he had forgotten later and at least one enticing detail of which he may never have been aware. Jones had heard he was to be arrested and fled for a time to Virginia. Union soldiers searched his house in his absence and found several incriminating letters. One was from the editor of the *Richmond Examiner* asking for copies of the *Baltimore Sun*. Another indicated that Jones and his fellow agents smuggled chloroform across the river in jugs marked "Neat's-foot oil." Other correspondents expressed joy at the Confederate victory at Manassas, the expectation that "Lincoln is pretty nearly played out and that one more victory in favor of the South will knock down his house," and the hope "that the day is not far



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Portrait of Jones from his famous book.



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 2. General Andrew Porter.

distant when the people of the North will condemn Abe's cruel acts and hurl him from power."

Any secret agent is, of necessity, a liar, but readers who know Jones only from his famous memoir are not able to see what an accomplished and shrewd liar he was. The records of his case make this talent abundantly clear. Jones wrote several letters asking for help in gaining his release. He noted that he had "an affectionate wife at home and eight young children all dependent upon me for protection and support." Moreover, his wife was expecting. It was time (November) for farmers to be making arrangements for the next year. He needed to go home to do that and to provide winter clothing and shoes for his family. Still in prison (he was moved to the Old Capitol Prison) in January, Jones begged for sympathy, "if not for myself for the sake of a distressed wife and nine children, one of which is a stranger to me it having been born since my imprisonment." A "father or a husband" would surely grant him "a speedy release."

The account of his family circumstances was apparently true, but the shrewd lie Jones told was that he had done only what many others in his county would have done in similar circumstances. Besides, he knew of many men from the area who had been in the Confederate service, returned to Maryland, been captured, and released on taking the oath of allegiance. His act was not as bad as theirs. The government had confiscated two of his boats, and his pecuniary loss was severe. Jones readily admitting taking people to Virginia, but he claimed that he never inquired about their business. "Where there was

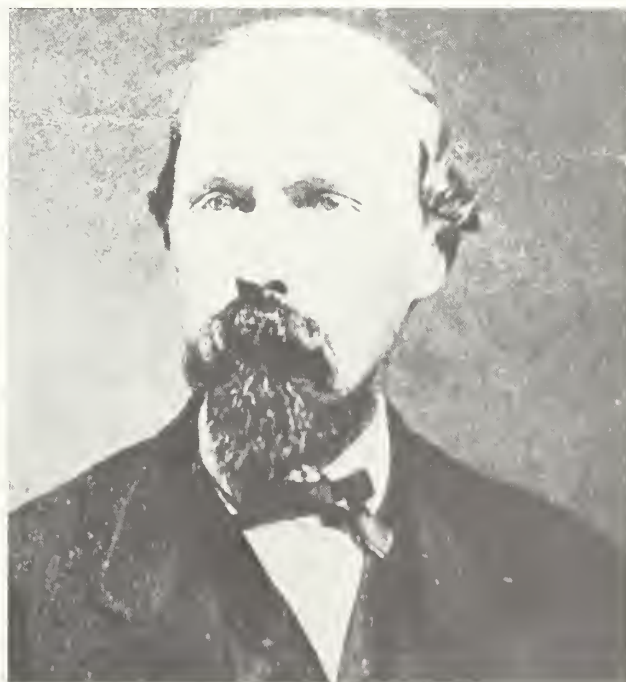
a boat there was no use in saying 'no' when men from a distance came and said they wanted to go to Virginia on important business and must go. I have known in several cases where they after being positively refused took the boat and crossed the river themselves." Jones had "said already more than . . . intended and more than necessary," he said with false candor. He was suffering for the crimes of others in his county who had done more and paid less penalty. "What I did which seems to be treason to the Government I did for profit. . . . I have a large family to support, and being a poor man I thought that if I could make something by carrying a few persons across the river it would be no harm."

Jones lied. He was comfortably well off but lost his money in efforts for the Confederacy. He knew exactly what he was doing in the ferry business; he did it to help the Confederacy. By not making a phony lofty-sounding appeal, he gave his lies the ring of grubby truth born of economic necessity. His lies were artful and, it should be noted, clearly and plainly expressed—proof, incidentally, of his ability to write his later memoir without the aid of a ghost-writer.

The Department of State, battered by Maryland Congressmen looking after their constituents and perhaps a little taken in by Jones's lies, decided to let him go. This is a part of the story that Jones may not have known—a part that provides tragically eloquent tribute to the sound instincts of the Federal secret service. Provost Marshal Porter told Secretary of State William H. Seward that Jones ought not to be released. Seward ordered his release in January anyway. Porter and Allen objected vigorously, saying that Jones was a dangerous man, that Seward had received "untruthful representations" in regard to his case, and that General George B. McClellan regarded it as a military necessity that Jones be kept in custody. Allen said that Jones was part of a "dangerous nest of traitors."

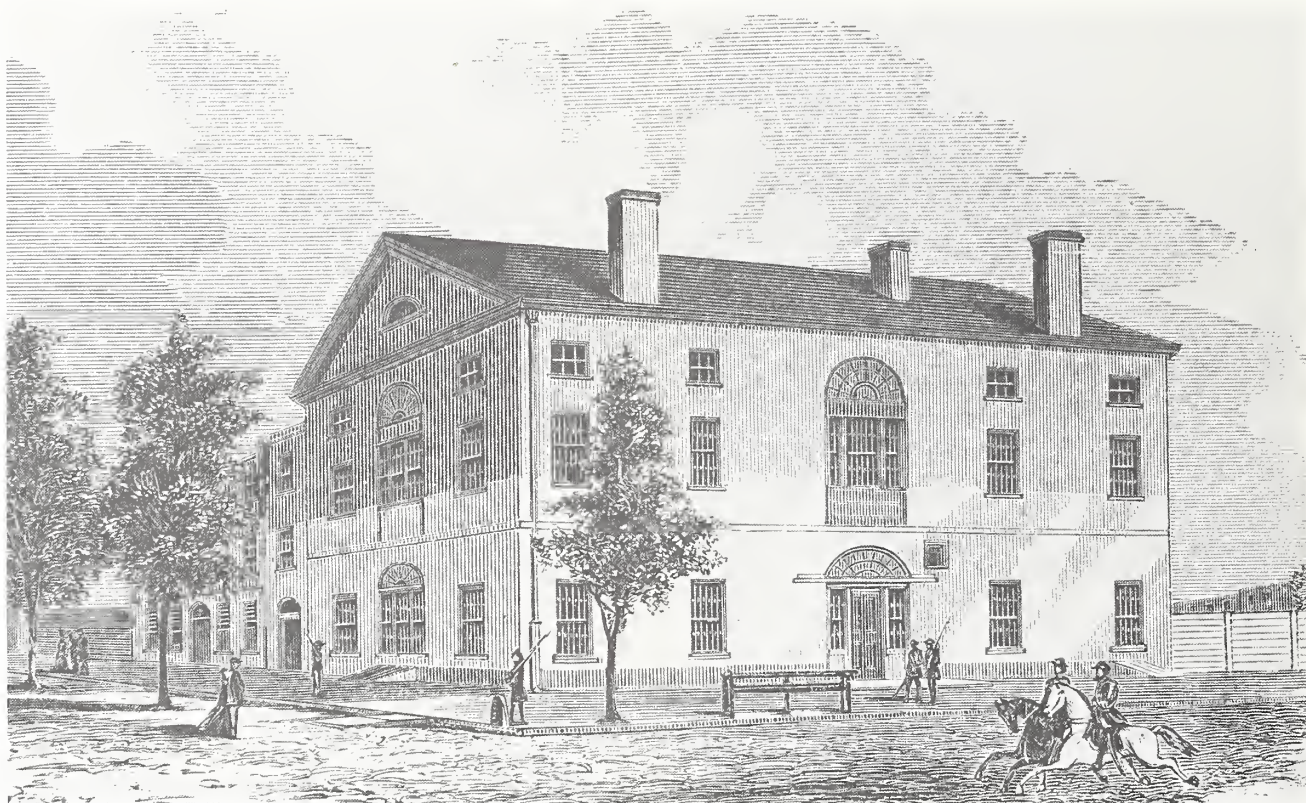
In February, Edwin M. Stanton succeeded Seward as the person in charge of arrests of persons suspected of disloyalty. The same influences that wore Seward down assailed Stanton. Allen told him: "Jones is a most dangerous man to be at large even for the shortest length of time."

Six days later Jones swore his allegiance to the Union and walked out of the Old Capitol Prison. Very shortly thereafter, he became the official Confederate agent in his neighborhood.



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 3. Doctor Samuel A. Mudd.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

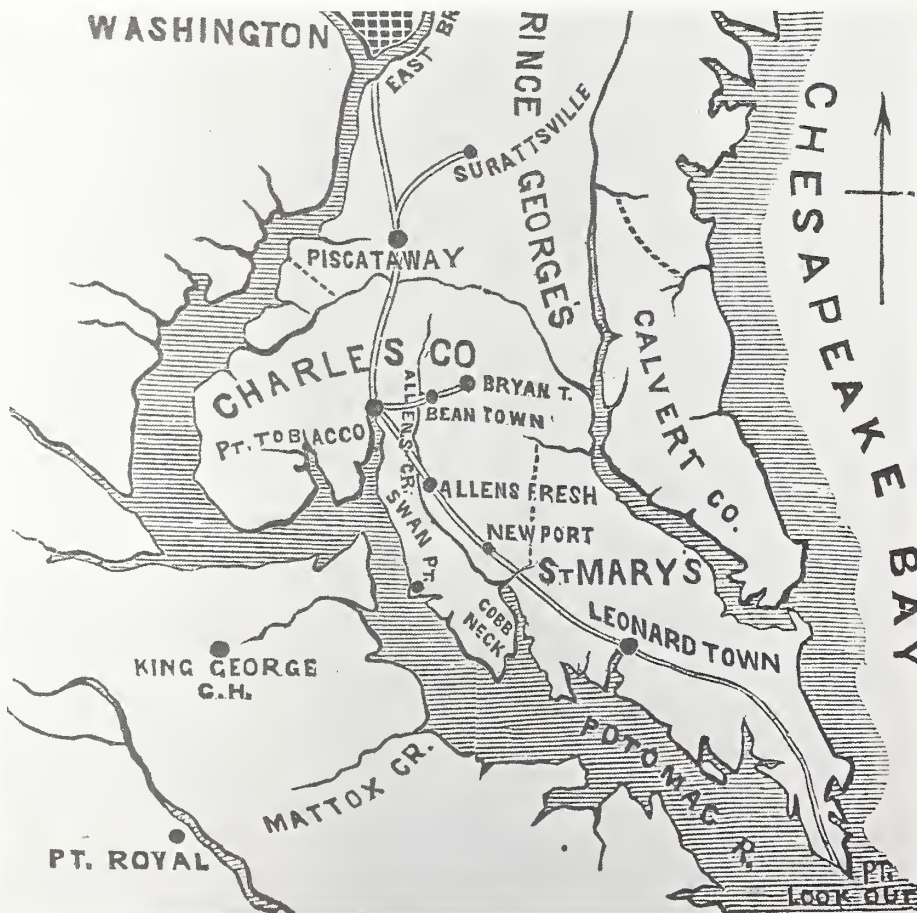
FIGURE 4. The Old Capitol Prison from John A. Marshall's *American Bastille*.

Among the curious materials in the file on Jones's case is a statement made by one George W. Smith of Bryantown, Charles County, Maryland.

The secession feeling commenced about April last, 1861. The principal leaders in the secession party and those who have aided against the Government are, first, James A. Mudd; lives about one mile from Bryantown; has been conveying men and boxes supposed to contain munitions of war from Baltimore and different counties in the State to Pope's Creek on the Potomac. The men were strangers from Baltimore and other places. Mudd paid the expenses. . . . Thomas A. Jones, of Pope's Creek, is the man who receives the men, arms and ammunition at that place and conveys them over to Virginia in his own boat and with his own negroes.

Dr. Samuel A. Mudd lived five miles from Bryantown. The arrest records in the State Department are full of gaps and errors. Many names are mistakenly recorded, especially in verbal testimony taken down, as this was, by a Federal agent. Did Smith get the first name wrong? Was he a little off in his estimate of the distance from Bryantown? Who was Smith? From whom did Jones obtain his chloroform?

History may never know. There is no other record of Smith's arrest than this statement. All that is known for certain is that he told the truth about Thomas A. Jones.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 5. Map of lower Maryland from George A. Townsend's *Life, Crime, and Capture of John Wilkes Booth*.

LOONEY'S Tavern[®]

**"THE AFTERMATH
AND THE LEGACY"**



**Double Springs, Alabama
June 13 – October 12, 1996**



Looney's Tavern: The Aftermath & The Legacy

This outdoor drama tells the true story of the people of Winston County, AL and their struggle during the Civil War era following the historic secession meeting at Looney's Tavern. Caught between the Union and the Confederates, these courageous Americans are forced into choosing between serving the Confederacy or joining forces with the Union.

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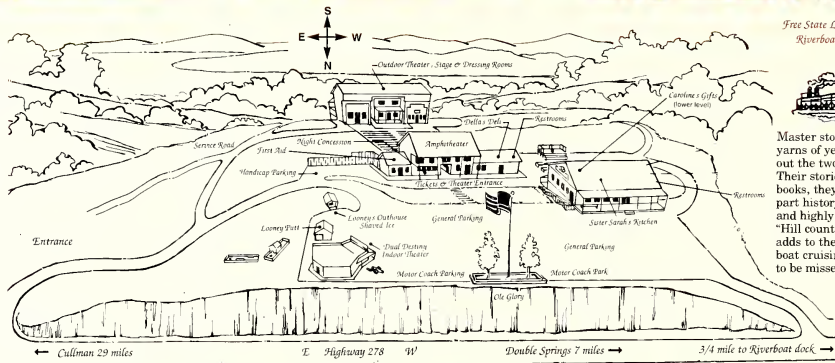
Confederate and Union Soldiers share their camps and songs with you in a show which captures the deep feelings and emotions of the war.



Limited Engagement

The tall, gaunt and bearded Green, adorned in an 1860's style attire, delivers famous quotes, humorous anecdotes, and responds to audience questions in the informal, homespun, humorous Lincoln style. Both children and adults take delight in his uncanny likeness to Mr. Lincoln, and enjoy his attention to historic detail.

Dual Destiny® Theater Introduced By Abe Lincoln (Bud Green)



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Looney Putt

18 challenging holes of family fun.



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"Dual Destiny" - 4:00 p.m. & 6:00 p.m.
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\$10 Riverboat Excursion Cruise - 1:00 p.m. & 3:15 p.m.
\$20 Riverboat Dinner Cruise - 5:30 p.m.
\$5 Lunch at Sister Sara's Kitchen - 11:30 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.
\$8 Dinner at Sister Sara's Kitchen - 4:00 - 8:00 p.m.

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Written by Lanny McAlister.

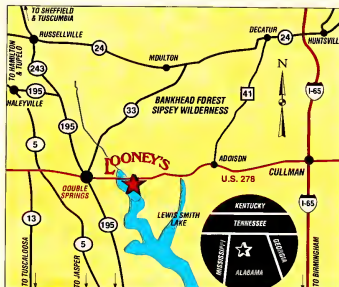
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"THE AFTERMATH
AND THE LEGACY"



Double Springs, Alabama
June 13 - October 12, 1996

MR. SEWARD ON SEPARATION.—A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, giving an account of his observations in this country, says that Mr. Seward addressed him in these words before any of the States attempted to withdraw from the Union:

When the disruption comes we shall set the Old World a glorious example. We shall show the superiority of our republican system over the effete monarchical governments of Europe. We shall do what they would never dream of doing—we shall separate without bloodshed.

Has this freely-expressed conviction of Seward before the rebellion anything to do with his apostasy now?—*LANCASTER EXPRESS*.

THE second occasion on which a large group of the American people asserted their right to revolution also produced an important piece of Americana in broadside form, now rare. That the revolution which was announced in December, 1860, has gone into history as a lost cause may have lessened the historic but not sentimental, or, let us say, the "collector" interest of the broadside. Brutal as it is at best, it is indeed a sorry war in which the people of both sides do not feel that their cause is just. It would be swallowing democracy in too large a mouthful to believe that the majority is always right. We prefer not to weigh the justice of the two causes of '61. Nevertheless, today, within a month of the day when millions of our people have willingly ac-

CHARLESTON MERCURY EXTRA:

*Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December
20th, 1860.*

AN ORDINANCE

*To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and
other States united with her under the compact entitled "The
Constitution of the United States of America."*

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and
it is hereby declared and ordained,*

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

THE UNION IS DISSOLVED!

declarations of revolution made in the medium of communication most likely to get immediate attention in their days. Of course the broadside Declaration of Independence has a philosophical and political content which gives it the advantage of the bald yet dramatic statement of the Secession broadside. The latter happens to be, however, the Number 1 item in an important field of collecting — it is the first Confederate imprint. The price is \$65.

AT
GOODSPEED'S

100-1000
100-1000

100-1000
100-1000

196 D1

Secession

XVI - 2

1. S.C Dec 20

Miss Jan 9

Fla 10

Ala 11

Ga 19

La 26

Tex Feb 1

Va April 7

Ark May 6

N.C 20

Tenn Dec 8

196 D1
SECESSION

913

CHARLESTON MERCURY EXTRA:

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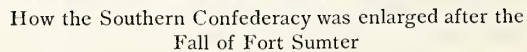
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and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of
"The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.*

THE
UNION
IS
DISSOLVED!

Newspaper bulletin posted in the streets
of Charleston.

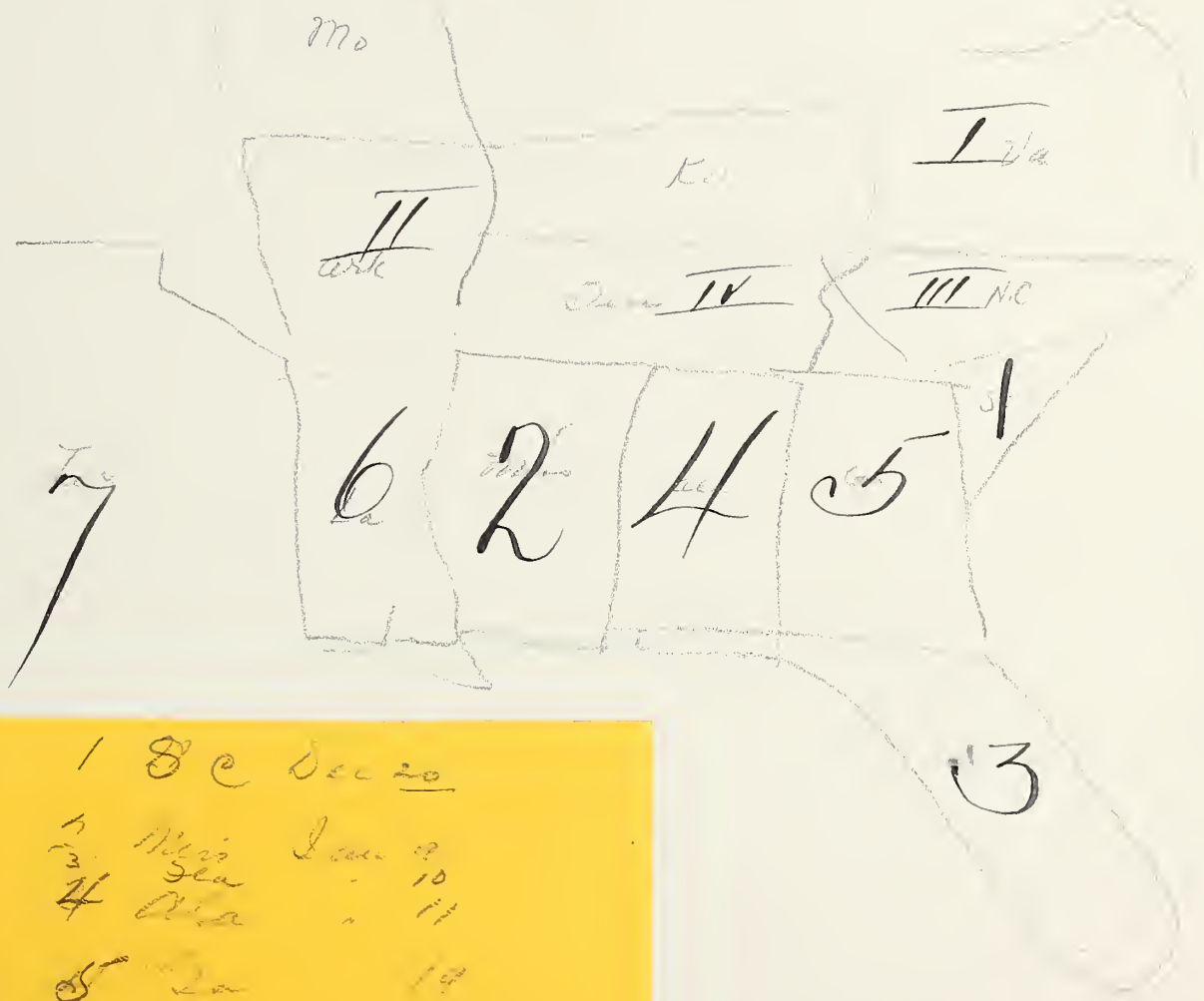
Murray 5-7



The secession of Virginia two days after Lincoln's call for troops was an event of prime importance. It gave the South her greatest general, Robert E. Lee. General Lee was the son of a distinguished Revolutionary general, belonging to one of the first families of Virginia, and was himself a gentleman of

¹ In Missouri it actually came to civil war. Governor Jackson was a secessionist, while the Union cause was championed by Francis P. Blair, Jr., one of Missouri's first citizens, and brother of the Postmaster-General in Lincoln's cabinet. Captain Lyon, commanding the Home Guards (Unionist troops), took Camp Jackson, which the secessionists had fortified on the outskirts of St. Louis; then sailed up the Missouri River and drove the Jackson government out of the capital,

Secession



- 1 Dec 20
- 2 Miss Jan 9
- 3 Ala " 10
- 4 Ala " 11
- 5 Ga " 19
- 6 La " 26
- 7 Tex Feb 1

- 8 Va Apr 17
- 9 Ark June 20
- 10 Fla June 20
- 11 Tex June 8

